

# The iconography of Bektashiism

## A survey of themes and symbolism

### in clerical costume, liturgical objects and pictorial art

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#### 1. HISTORICAL PROLEGOMENA

Ever since the beginning of the Turkish conquest and settlement of Anatolia in the eleventh century, the proportion of the region's Sunnī population to its Shī'ī population has been difficult to establish for any period of its history<sup>1</sup>. The Shī'ī segment has often been qualified as heterodox, presumably in differentiation from the orthodox or Sunnī segment of the population<sup>2</sup>. In present-day Turkey, the various sects concerned, the Tahtacis, the Çepnis, the Abdals<sup>3</sup>, the Bektashis, and the broad mass of Alevi who do not belong to any of the groups mentioned are normally referred to by the generic term Kızılbaş<sup>4</sup>, by those who do not belong to these sects. The terms most widely used by the members of the sects to refer to themselves are Alevi (Aliyān) or Caferi. The first term points to their belief in the Divinity of the Imam 'Alī. This conviction is the cornerstone of the Alevi belief systems and makes these sects stand out as present-day representatives of the *gūlāt* traditions in Islam<sup>5</sup>. The term Caferi refers to the presumed conformity of religious belief and practice with the *mezheb* of the Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq<sup>6</sup>, to whom one of the most important texts in use among the Alevi sects in Turkey and elsewhere<sup>7</sup>, the *Buyruk*<sup>8</sup>, is attributed.

The Anatolian Shī'ītes were persecuted in the early sixteenth century<sup>9</sup>; the Ottoman authorities perceived them as an internal threat to the stability of the Empire because of the numerous indications of their loyalty to the monarch of the Safavid state, Shāh Ismā'īl<sup>10</sup>. One effect of these persecutions seems to have been that Alevi Islam functioned increasingly within the framework of the Bektashi order<sup>11</sup>.

The origins of the Bektashi order are obscure<sup>12</sup> and our knowledge of its history is fragmentary<sup>13</sup>. Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, the supposed founder of the order<sup>14</sup>, is thought to have been a descendent of the Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim, through Mūsā's son Ibrāhīm<sup>15</sup>. His birth date and the date of his death are uncertain but have been computed from chronograms as 646/1248 and 738/1337<sup>16</sup>. In the writings attributed to Hacı Bektaş which have come down to us, nothing suggests Shī'a leanings<sup>17</sup>. This would seem to point to a shift in the

theological orientation of Bektashiism in a later period, probably as the result of the incorporation of elements of *gūlāt* teaching into the belief system of the Bektashi sect<sup>18</sup>.

For seemingly administrative purposes, the Bektashi sect was treated as a *şūfī* order by the Ottoman administration. According to Bektashi tradition, this order under Sersem 'Alī Sulṭān (d. 977/1569-70) became a separate centralized organisation which controlled a network of *tekkes* over the Empire<sup>19</sup>. To what degree the rise of the Bektashi order can be attributed to its links with the Janissaris is a matter still open for investigation<sup>20</sup>. Its fate in 1826, when the order was suppressed following the destruction of the Janissaris<sup>21</sup> in that year, is normally attributed to the connection between both entities<sup>22</sup>. This view, however, has been challenged recently and alternative, more complex explanations have been advanced<sup>23</sup>. About two decades later, around 1850, the Bektashis could manifest themselves again; *tekkes* were rebuilt or restored, and the order went through a moderate revival in the following decades, recovering part of its glory but never regaining its past prominence<sup>24</sup>.

Inside Bektashiism, a situation of protracted conflict existed, and in fact still exists, between its two branches: the Mücerred or Babagān branch and the Çelebi or Sofiyān branch<sup>25</sup>. The former knows the vow of celibacy for its clerus, as is indicated by its name (*mücerred*: celibate), while a de facto prohibition against unmarried clergy exists in the latter.

The Çelebi branch is led by the presumed descendants of Hacı Bektaş and Kadıncık Ana, also known as Fatima Bācī or Fatima Nuriye, the daughter of one of the notables of an Oghuz tribe<sup>26</sup>. According to an account in one of the versions of the *Vilāyet-Nāme* of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, Kadıncık Ana became pregnant after having drunk from the water with which Hacı Bektaş had performed his ablutions and which contained some drops of blood from his nose<sup>27</sup>. The heads of the Çelebi branch claim to be descendants from the two children she bore later<sup>28</sup>.

According to Bektashi tradition, the introduction of celibacy for *babas*, goes back to Balim Sulṭān (d. 925/1519)<sup>29</sup>. This innovation is held to mark the historical

beginning of the Mücerred branch, which became the dominant branch of Bektashiism known as the Bektashi order. The subsequent heads of the order, with the title of Dede Baba (grandfather), resided in the central *dergāh* of the order near Kirşehir. The candidates for this supreme leadership position were normally selected by an electoral college of unmarried members of the order with the rank of Dede (see below, note 76) and confirmed in office by imperial *ferman*<sup>30</sup>.

After the closure of the *tekkes* and the prohibition of the *şūfī* orders in Turkey in 1925, Bektashiism continued to be adhered to by a sizeable number of people<sup>31</sup> and liturgical meetings continue to be held semi-clandestinely in private homes till the present day<sup>32</sup>. Outside Turkey, Bektashi communities still exist in the countries of southeastern Europe<sup>33</sup> and in the U.S.A.<sup>34</sup>.

## 2. THE CONTEXT OF THE ICONOGRAPHY: ELEMENTS OF DOGMA AND RITUAL<sup>35</sup>

Bektashiism is not a single consistent and codified cosmological system with a fixed set of religious practices. Nevertheless, the various clusters of beliefs and practices which have made up Bektashiism at different places and times have several elements in common<sup>36</sup>. These elements are largely shared with Alevi Islam and point either to their common roots or to a cultural osmosis between these *gūlāt* sects<sup>37</sup>.

One of the central dogmas in Bektashiism is that the Imam 'Alī was a manifestation of the Divine on earth. The evidence providing the basis for this belief is found in the Bektashi/Alevi version of the *mirac* and the interconnected story of the Assembly of the Forty (*Kırklar meclisi*)<sup>38</sup>. These traditions are related and on record in numerous *nefes* (hymns) and in the *Buyruk*<sup>39</sup>. Various versions with minor variations exist which contain essentially the following account:

During the *mirac*, Muḥammad the Prophet requested God to remove the veils between them so that His Prophet might not only hear Him but also see Him. This request was granted: the veils were removed and Muḥammad found himself face to face with the Imam 'Alī. During his miraculous nocturnal ascent to the Throne, Muḥammad had met a lion on his way and had thrown a ring in the animal's mouth to distract and silence him. Later, at a certain moment during the Assembly of the Forty, 'Alī suddenly took this same ring out of his mouth and gave it back to Muḥammad<sup>40</sup>.

In order to gain access to this event, Muḥammad had to belittle himself before the door of the house of his daughter Fāṭima where the meeting was in progress. When he was eventually admitted, after announcing himself not as the Prophet but as the poor one (*al-fakir*), he saw a gathering of 39 people, inclu-

ding the Twelve Imams, his daughter Fāṭima, and his wife Khadija, presided over by the Imam 'Alī. Muḥammad then proceeded to ask about the nature of the curious gathering and was told that this was the Assembly of the Forty. When he replied by observing that there were only 39 persons present, it was pointed out to him that their number was forty because of the spiritual presence of Selmân-i Pâk (Fārisī), the aid and companion of the Imam 'Alī (see below). Thereafter, 'Alī took a grape from the table in front of him, pressed it, and began to fill the glasses on the table with its juice from which those present drank<sup>41</sup>. Then, intoxicated, the party rose and started to dance, moving around in a circle with each of the participants turning simultaneously around his own axis. The main liturgical gatherings of the Bektashis and the Alevis are basically dramatic re-enactments of the *Kırklar meclisi*<sup>42</sup>.

On these occasions both sexes are present and mix to a considerable degree. Rakı or wine<sup>43</sup> and food are ceremoniously consumed and ritual dances are performed. With some Bektashi groups, a live white rooster is brought in at a certain point in the ritual to be blessed by the celebrating Baba. The animal is subsequently sacrificed outside the meeting hall and prepared to be eaten later. The Bektashi groups who practice this custom consider the white rooster as the most precious animal for sacrifice, which they refer to as *Cebraîl kurbani*, the sacrifice of Gabriel. On the symbolic level, the sacrifice of the rooster, indeed, seems to be perceived as the sacrifice of the Archangel Gabriel himself<sup>44</sup>. With the Babagân branch, however, the sacrifice of a rooster is not part of the standard liturgical ritual. Nevertheless, the idea of the rooster as a symbol for the Archangel Gabriel has sometimes found a concrete expression in Bektashi art (see below).

Additional evidence for the Divinity of 'Alī was provided by the events surrounding his death. After having predicted his own death, he informed his sons Ḥasan and Ḥüseyin that a veiled man would come to the house after his death. This stranger would load 'Alī's corpse on a camel and lead it away for burial. He prohibited his sons from intervening, and instructed them not to follow the veiled man or to ask him questions. When, indeed, the predicted events took place, Ḥasan and Ḥüseyin could not restrain themselves and eventually ran after the man to find out who he was. When they caught up with him, they insisted upon knowing his identity. Then, the stranger lifted his veil and showed his face: it was 'Alī himself, miraculously carrying his own body to the grave<sup>45</sup>.

Since 'Alī is believed to have been the manifestation of God on earth, he is held to be the *şāhib-i risāla*, i.e. the originator of the Qur'ān, while Muḥammad is referred to as the *nātiq-i risāla*, i.e. the mouthpiece of 'Alī. A different way of formulating this relationship, found in *gūlāt* texts, is that the exoteric (*zāhir*) aspect of the Divine came into the world with Muḥammad,

while in its esoteric (*bātin*) aspect the Divine is identical with 'Alī. In other words: Muḥammad and 'Alī are both manifestations of the same Divine reality. In this way, Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī form a sort of Trinity (referred to in Alevi Islam as the *üçler*) manifesting one and the same Truth (*ḥaqīqa*), and thought of as a miraculous unity<sup>46</sup>. In everyday speech, the presence of this idea of miraculous unity becomes clear from the fact that the names Muḥammad and 'Alī are never used separately but are always pronounced as one name: Muhammedali. Similarly, in the *ṣalawāt* formulas in Arabic which are said by Bektashis at the end of certain prayers, the part '*wa-'alā āl-i Muḥammad*' (and on the relatives of Muḥammad) is understood as '*wa-'alā 'Alī-Muḥammad*' (and on Alimuhammed), i.e. on Muḥammad and 'Alī as the same manifestation of and as identical with the Divine, the ultimate Truth, the *hakikat*<sup>47</sup>.

To go through the gateway of *hakikat*, i.e. to experience this Truth from the inside, one has first to pass through the three gates of *ṣeriat*, *tarikāt* and *marifet*<sup>48</sup>. These stages are related to the four basic cosmic elements, water (*ṣeriat*), air (*tarikāt*), fire (*marifet*) and earth (*hakikat*), and to the four levels of being (*ervāh*) in Man: mineral (*ruh-i cismanī*), vegetable (*ruh-i nebatī*), animal (*ruh-i haywānī*) and human (*ruh-i insānī*). When all four *ervāh* are annihilated and replaced by the *ruh-i safī* (the pure spirit) the stage of the Perfect Man (*insan-ı kâmil*) has been reached. In order to reach this stage and to go through the Four Gates, one needs a guide, a *mürşit*, who himself has reached perfection, the stage of *insan-ı kâmil*<sup>49</sup>.

The potential for perfection is present in every human being, since God (Muḥammad-'Alī) is present in every human being. The Qur'ānic passages cited in support of this belief are the ones which are used to the same effect in some of the mystical traditions in Sunnī Islam, namely Qur'ān 53:9 ('*fa-kāna qāb" qawsayn aw adnā*': and He (i.e. God) was a small distance (from) the two bows or closer<sup>50</sup>), and Qur'ān 50:16 ('*wa-naḥnu aqrab ilayhi min ḥabl al-warīd*': We are nearer to him (i.e. Man) than his jugular vein). In addition, Bektashī tracts also refer to Qur'ān 95:3 ('*laqad khalaqnā al-insān fi aḥsani taqwīm*': We have indeed created Man in the best of forms), notably in support of the belief that the signs of the Divine presence in Man are outwardly manifest in the shapes of a number of Arabic letters (the best of forms, because they were used to write down the Revelation) found in the human face and in the human body. Moreover, certain parts of the face and the body are identified with the *ehl-i beyt* (see below) who were equally the best of forms, as are the letters of their names. By substituting these letters for numbers according to fixed rules, another level of hidden meanings is opened up pointing towards the Divine presence in Man and underscoring the unity of Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī<sup>51</sup> (see below, section 4, for examples). He who knows the

location of the letters and their hidden meanings has gained access to a cosmos in which all of reality is manifest: he knows God in accordance with the tradition '*man 'arafa nafsahu fa-qad 'arafa rabbahu*' (He who knows himself knows his Lord)<sup>52</sup>.

Because these signs of the Divine are found in the human face, it is held sacrilegious to touch the ground with one's face in prayer as the Sunnīs do. In fact, each human being is a mosque and each human face is a *mihrap*, while the *mihrap* is the face (the *vech-i kamāl*: the face of perfection) of one's *mürşit*. In him the outer signs of perfection are matched by inner perfection. For his disciples, therefore, he is the *kible*, which is normally located more precisely as the site between his eyebrows. For this reason, Bektashis equal ritual prayer (*namaz*) with paying visits to one's *mürşit*, involving *niyaz* (see below, note 83). At the same time, God is everywhere, in every animate and inanimate being. Such and similar beliefs are found frequently in Bektashī writings, notably in the poetical *nefes* (hymns), and clearly demonstrate the pantheistic world view which is so characteristic of the central tradition in Bektashīism<sup>53</sup>.

Concerning the Caliphate, the Bektashī view is the common Shī'ite belief: 'Alī was the rightful Caliph and his rightful successors are the Imams recognized by Twelver Shī'ism. The three Sunnī caliphs preceding 'Alī and the Umayyad pretenders, particularly Mu'āwiya and Yazīd, are cursed (*teberrā*)<sup>54</sup> on whatever occasion presents itself<sup>55</sup>.

The killing of Hüseyn at Kerbela is commemorated yearly with a ten or twelve-day period of fasting and mourning<sup>56</sup>. In the eyes of many Bektashis and Alevis, the Sunnī Muslims are in a sense the spiritual heirs of those who are responsible for the killing of Hüseyn and have become carriers of a sort of original sin in consequence. For this reason it is sometimes deemed better by Bektashis and Alevis to limit interaction with Sunnī Muslims as much as possible.

The people of the house of the Prophet, the *ehl-i beyt*, to the contrary, are revered and venerated. In the most prevalent Bektashī conception, the *ehl-i beyt* are restricted to Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, their sons Ḥasan and Hüseyn, and the nine later Imams. Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Hüseyn are collectively referred to as the Five (*beşler*). The *ehl-i beyt* are venerated (*tevellā*)<sup>57</sup> in daily conversation as well as in the setting of the *tekke*. *Tevellā* and *teberrā* are obligations imposed upon the Bektashī at the time of his initiation.

In addition, Bektashis revere the *ondört ma'sumu pāk*, the Fourteen Pure Innocents, and the *onyedi kemerbest*, the Seventeen Girded Ones. The former group consists of children of Imams martyred in their childhood<sup>58</sup>, who are considered as special manifestations of God. The latter group are the companions of 'Alī who were initiated by him<sup>59</sup>. The first of these seventeen was Selmân-i Pāk, who is also considered as

being one of the family of the Prophet in accordance with the Prophetic tradition saying 'Selman is of us, the *ahl al-bayt*' (*Salmān minnā ahl al-bayt*)<sup>60</sup>. He was an aid and companion of 'Alī in the world and is believed to be his helper in the hereafter, as is the case with the Archangel Gabriel. The *beşler*, Selmân and Gabriel are collectively referred to as *yediler* (the Seven).

In Bektashi poetry and prose, numerous indications can be found testifying to the belief that Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli was 'Alī (i.e. God) in a different guise<sup>61</sup>. Numerous miracles were performed by him, of which many are on record in the *Vilāyet-Nāme*. One of the best known and most frequently related miracles concerns Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli's struggle with the dervishes of Rûm, who tried to prevent him from coming to their lands from K̲h̲urasān. He solved this problem by going to Rûm transformed as a dove<sup>62</sup>. Later, after changing into a human being again, he was met by one of them, Karaca Aḥmed Sultān, who rode a lion and used snakes as whips<sup>63</sup>. Thereupon, Hacı Bektaş mounted a rock (a wall, according to another tradition) and ordered it to move, which happened immediately. In this way, Hacı Bektaş demonstrated his superiority over Karaca Aḥmed Sultān, who could only exercise control over animate beings, while he demonstrated his capacity to rule the inanimate world as well.

Apart from some Hurufi influenced treatises on the requirements of the Four Gateways<sup>64</sup>, Bektashi texts in general are relatively silent on points of social ethics. Nevertheless, Bektashis and Alevis have a common conception concerning the minimal moral requirements necessary for the maintenance of an ordered society. These requirements are imposed upon the initiate during the initiation ceremony when the *baba* invokes him: '*eline, diline, beline sağ ol*' (be master of your hand, your tongue, your loins/seed)<sup>65</sup>. In this invocation, the basics of Bektashi/Alevi ethics are summarized: do not take what is not yours, do not speak untruthful or defiling words, do not commit adultery. An infringement of these moral precepts may lead to sanctions, varying from penitence to (temporary) excommunication and to the penalty of death<sup>66</sup>.

### 3. SYMBOLISM IN CLERICAL COSTUME AND LITURGICAL OBJECTS

Both married as well as unmarried dervishes and *babas* of the Mûcerred branch of Bektashiism<sup>67</sup> wore the same clerical costume (plate 1) which nowadays is seen only in the *tekkes* in Yugoslavia and in the *tekke* in the U.S.A. Many parts of this costume have a symbolic dimension since they refer to elements of Bektashi teaching. For this reason, the religious garb of the dervishes and the *babas* should be discussed as part of the iconography of the sect. This is also the case with the liturgical objects used in the *meydan*<sup>68</sup> and for some of the common household objects in use

in the *tekke*. In addition, some of these symbols may also be found in the architecture of a *tekke*, examples of which are mentioned below.

Most characteristic is the headgear, the so-called *Hüseyinî tac*. It is made of felt and has twelve segments, symbolizing the Twelve Imams. Rarer are the seven-sided and the four-sided *tac*. In the case of the latter, the four sections are said to symbolize the Four Gateways. The seven-sided *tac* symbolizes the *yediler* mentioned above. In all cases, a button or knob stands in the center of the top, symbolizing the unity of Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī<sup>69</sup>. When not worn, the *tac* is placed on a *kavukluk*. This can be a stand but is normally a shelf, hung on the wall, specifically designed to carry the *tac* (plate 2). Around the neck, dervishes and *babas* wear the *teslim taşı*, the stone of surrender, to symbolize the merger of human individuality in the Eternal Truth<sup>70</sup>. Only *babas* wear a similar, but much larger stone, named *palihen*<sup>71</sup>, on the girdle. This stone is sometimes enamelled and inlaid with gold and (semi-) precious stones<sup>72</sup>.

The girdle, worn by dervishes and *babas* alike, is often woven in colors and patterns reflecting the style of the region of its maker or its bearer. The girdle should go around the waist seven times, symbolizing the *yediler*. Attached to the girdle is the *cilbend*, a leather case embroidered or dyed with characteristic Bektashi symbols. The *kamberiye* is worn over the girdle. This consists of a plaited rope, normally of three strings of wool with a stone in the shape and size of a small egg at its end. It symbolizes the lead-rope of 'Alī's mount Döldül, which was carried around the waist by 'Alī's groom Kamber when Döldül was unriden<sup>73</sup>. Unmarried *babas* distinguished themselves from the married ones by the pierced earlobe of the right ear. In the hole, a variety of earrings, sometimes in the shape of a *teslim taşı*, was worn<sup>74</sup>. Ideally, however, a silver decoration in the shape of a horse-shoe was carried as a sign of servitude similar to the servitude of Döldül<sup>75</sup>.

Dervishes as well as *babas* also wear a sort of sleeveless vest, a *haydariye*, with the armholes shaped like the letter 'ayn (for 'Alī). Only *babas*, however, wear two strings of seven crystal beads along the fronts of their *haydariye*. These beads, which symbolize the *ondört ma'sumu pâk*, are made of the transparent *necefi taş*. The outfit is normally completed with a backscratcher (plate 3), a walking or resting stick and a rosary (*tesbih*) of forty-one beads<sup>76</sup>. These items may be decorated with Bektashi symbols as is normally also the case with the *tebers* (axes), *nefirs* (horns), incense burners, letter openers and *keşküls* (begging bowls) of Bektashi provenance. This makes it possible to distinguish between such items of Bektashi origin and similar items used by adherents of other *şūfî* orders.

The *keşköl* can be made of a gourd or a large coconut, or can be carved out of wood. It was normally attached to a chain worn around the neck or the

shoulder, or was directly attached to the belt<sup>77</sup>. The *nefir* is usually made from the horn of a bull or a cow. In the *tekkes*, this instrument was used to call the dervishes to the refectory<sup>78</sup>. Nowadays, it is only found hanging as a wall decoration (see plate 4). This is also the case with the *teber*, which used to be carried as a weapon by dervishes and *babas* in their wanderings, and, in some *tekkes*, by the *rehber*<sup>79</sup> during the initiation ceremony<sup>80</sup>. The *teber* has sometimes been identified as a symbol for Abū Muslim *Khurasānī*, the avenger of Hüseyin's martyrdom<sup>81</sup>. This symbolic meaning, however, has not been retained in Bektashi tradition, although it is used in Bektashi calligraphies as a calligraphic element<sup>82</sup>.

The hall or room in a Bektashi *tekke* where liturgical meetings are held, the *meydan*, is normally dominated by the so-called *taht-ı Muḥammad* (Throne of Muḥammad). This is a wooden structure consisting of three steps (plate 4) on which twelve candles, symbolizing the Twelve Imams, are arranged in rows of four. An additional candle with three wicks known as *birlik çırağı* (the candle of Unity) or *kanun çırağı* (the candle of the Law), or an oil lamp with the same number of wicks (plate 5), is placed on the first step of the *taht* or on the floor in front of it.

Also in front of the *taht* lies a *teslim taşı*, sometimes referred to as *meydan taşı*. This stone is usually made of marble from a quarry near Hacıbektaş (köy). At the beginning of a ritual meeting, all those taking part in the ceremony make a *niyaz* on this stone, one in a sequence of *niyazes* to be made on this occasion<sup>83</sup>. The first one of this sequence is made on the threshold of the door to the *meydan* which is a symbol for 'Alī, in accordance with the Prophetic *hadīs*: 'anā madīnat al-'ilm wa 'Alī<sup>m</sup> bābuhā: I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate'<sup>84</sup>.

Along the walls, the *meydan* is normally covered with sheepskins. Twelve of these sheepskins are named after various Bektashi saints who are associated with particular functions to be performed in the *tekke* by designated persons<sup>85</sup>. A number of framed pictures normally decorate the walls of the *meydan*<sup>86</sup>.

During the *muhabbet* as well as in a certain stage of the initiation ceremony *rakı* or *şerbet* is drunk from a container (*hawd*). This may be a plain enamelled kitchen bowl, but also a superbly engraved piece of brass craftsmanship. Sometimes, a cup in the shape of a *Hüseyinī tac* is used for ladling and drinking. Similar cups with matching plates in the shape of a *teslim taşı* are found. These were probably used primarily as coffee cups.

A particularly nice example of a *hawd* is reproduced here (plate 6). It has an inscription around the edge which is an invocation for divine blessing and salvation of Muḥammad, Fāṭima and the Twelve Imams, all mentioned by name<sup>87</sup>. In Sunnī Islam this invocation is reserved for the Prophet Muḥammad exclusively.

Frequently, the calligraphed names of the first three

Imams, 'Alī and his sons Ḥasan and Hüseyin, and the names of Muḥammad and Fāṭima, in various combinations, decorate the Bektashi liturgical and household objects, such as the *taht*, *teber*, candle stand, letter opener, walking cane, *cilbend*, *kavukluk* and *mütekka* (*muîn*: see below, the additional notes to plate 4). Such objects in their turn may be found decorating the walls of *türbes* (see plate 4), where murals of Bektashi symbols sometimes also decorate the walls<sup>88</sup>. The ceilings of circular *türbes* are often divided into twelve segments (by painting or stucco-work) suggesting the *Hüseyinī tac* turned inside out<sup>89</sup>. In the case of heptagonal *türbes*<sup>90</sup>, the construction seems to contain a symbolic reference to the *yediler*. In some *tekkes* the wood panelled ceiling of the *meydan* contains a twelve-segmented round center piece<sup>91</sup>. On the whole, the symbolic content of the architecture of Bektashi *tekkes* seems to be limited: form and layout seem to be determined by building conventions and functionality. Usually, tombstones in *türbes* as well as in cemeteries can be identified easily as Bektashi because the upper part is shaped as a *Hüseyinī tac*<sup>92</sup>.

#### 4. THE PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION OF BELIEF: COLOR, SHAPE AND MEANING

The images and the objects pointing towards episodes and elements of Bektashi tradition and cosmology were exclusively produced by the Mücerred branch<sup>93</sup>. In the case of the images, they were normally found decorating the walls of *türbes* of Bektashi saints and of the *tekke*, notably in the *meydan* where most of the liturgical meetings were held<sup>94</sup>. Several of the symbols found in this pictorial art were also found on objects with a decorative or a practical function outside the liturgical context. At present, these images and objects are preserved in a number of museums in Turkey<sup>95</sup>. Others are in private hands or still decorate the walls of *tekkes* (plate 7) in Yugoslavia and Greece. A number of images of Bektashi provenance and examples of calligraphy have been published<sup>96</sup>. In conjunction, these published and unpublished images have allowed me to determine which themes occur the most frequently in Bektashi pictorial art. At the same time, these images appear to contain references to elements of belief which are shared by all Bektashis, thus explaining the frequency with which these images occur.

In a sense, the images epitomize the central elements of Bektashi teaching. They confront the Bektashi with some of the essentials of Bektashi belief. Thus, these symbols derive their force from their feedback to this belief, i.e. they are important since they stand for what is important in the Bektashi belief-system which, in its turn, retains its importance by dint of the force of the symbols<sup>97</sup>.

Most of the Bektashi images presented below can also be found on the walls of the communal liturgical



meeting place (*cem evi*) in an Alevi village and even in private homes. In all these different contexts, their function would seem to be multiple: viz. esthetical, as decoration, social, as a (semi-) public statement of religious identity, and psychological, as a visual representation of the essentials of Bektashi/Alevi belief.

The images may be divided broadly into three categories: purely figurative, purely calligraphic, and compositions containing both figurative and calligraphic elements. The techniques of execution are: painting upon paper, wood or glass, fretwork, embroidery (rare), and bits of straw glued to a wooden base (very rare).

The number of images and objects which has survived to the present is surprisingly small, considering the importance of Bektashiism and the large number of Bektashi *tekkes* in the Ottoman Empire. Much of this part of the sect's heritage must have been lost in or shortly after the suppression of 1826, later during the Russian-Turkish and the Balkan Wars and in the First World War. The prohibition of the *şūfī* orders and the closure of the *tekkes* in Turkey in 1925 could only have accelerated this loss. These events explain, at least in part, why some of the most important examples of Bektashi pictorial art are found in areas not much affected by these wars and other events, such as Kosova in Yugoslavia and Thessalia in Greece, where Bektashiism is a living force till the present-day, thus protecting these images from disappearance and destruction<sup>98</sup>.

Many Bektashi images consist of two halves, one being the mirror image of the other. This characteristic constitutes a symbolic reference to the *ẓāhir* (exoteric) and the *bāṭin* (esoteric) aspects of being. When the name of 'Alī is written as a mirror image (cf. plate 8), it is nothing less than a statement of the central credo of Bektashiism: 'Alī<sup>m</sup> Allāh<sup>u</sup>: *Alī Allahdır*: 'Alī is God. This plate contains also an allusion to the belief that 'Alī (i.e. God) manifests himself in the human face, namely, the faces in the 'ayns of 'Alī: the shape of the 'ayn follows the contours of the human eye, while the eyes are identified with the Imam Ḥasan (the right eye) and the Imam Ḥuseyin (the left eye). The center piece is the Bektashi *teslim taşı*: the symbol of the abandonment of human individuality in the Eternal Truth which is the unity of Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī. The same idea of 'Alī and Muḥammad being one and identical with God is hidden in the numerical value of the letters forming these names: their sum is 202, a number which is equal to the sum of the letters *rā'* and *bā'* forming the word *rabb*, i.e. Lord, i.e. God<sup>99</sup>. Calligraphically, the unity of Muḥammad and 'Alī is also expressed in the element crowning, as it were, the two *alifs*: both names are written intertwined, the 'ayn being identical with the *ḥā'*.

Apart from a pictorial representation of the tradition of 'Alī carrying his own corpse to his grave and his metamorphosis as a lion, this plate also depicts 'Alī's

legendary two-pointed sword, *Dhu'l-Fiqār*, as an integral element of the calligraphy. In this plate, the *alif* as well as the *yā'* have the shape of a two-pointed sword which is also carried on the back of the camel. In Bektashi iconography, the letter *yā'* in the name 'Alī almost always has the shape of *Dhu'l-Fiqār*. In this shape it occurs as well in calligraphic renderings of the human face, where it often represents the moustache, as e.g. in the plate reproduced here (plate 9). The plate itself expresses the belief, mentioned above, that each human being is a mosque and that each human face is a *mihrap*.

*Dhu'l-Fiqār* is also visible in the fretwork in the shape of the *Hüseyni tac*, containing the names of the *beşler* (plate 10). This sword was obtained by Muḥammad as booty from the battle of Badr and presented to 'Alī<sup>100</sup>. In early Twelver *Shī'ism*, the issue of who possessed this sword became part of the larger issue of claims for divinely sanctioned authority. Eventually, *Dhu'l-Fiqār* became the ultimate Alid symbol, depicted in *Shī'a* iconography everywhere. For Bektashis and Alevs, the sword is the symbolic representation of 'Alī's supreme power. He alone is associated with the legendary sword, as is made explicit in the formula *lā fatā illā 'Alī, lā sayf illā Dhu'l-Fiqār*: there is no hero like 'Alī, there is no sword like *Dhu'l-Fiqār*. This formula is pronounced, among other occasions, during the initiation ceremony by the initiate and seems to be the Bektashi equivalent of the Sunnī *şehadet*<sup>101</sup>. The text is found in the form of framed calligraphy hanging on the walls of *tekkes*, engraved on *tebers* and on liturgical objects, and as a monumental inscription on Bektashi shrines<sup>102</sup>.

Apart from the symbolic representation of the Twelve Imams in the twelve segments of the *Hüseyni tac*, we find their names in composite calligraphies<sup>103</sup> and also engraved in liturgical objects like the *hawd* shown above. Much rarer is the physical representation of the Imams. In the tableau reproduced here (plate 11), made of strips of straw glued to a wooden base, the Imams are dressed as Bektashi *babas* with the *Hüseyni tac* and the *teslim taşı*. They carry *tebers*, apart from the two in front who carry a Turkish banner. The tableau contains a supplication for help (*madad*) from the Divine Trinity (Allāh, Muḥammad and 'Alī) in the upper half of the circle and invokes the names of Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥuseyin in the lower half. It contains the familiar Bektashi symbols of the *Hüseyni tac*, the *teslim taşı*, *Dhu'l-Fiqār* and the lions, who symbolize 'Alī. In addition, it contains the equally familiar numeric symbols in the lower half of the circle: the three starlike circles between the two letters *yā'* (*üçler*). The two small circles placed slightly higher on the left and the right, but still within the *alif* of the invocation *yā'*, add up to five (*beşler*), while the two starlike circles outside the *yā'* add up to seven (*yediler*).

In the original, the lions are painted gold, a substance which is sometimes considered as symbolic for

'Alī in accordance with a tradition in which Hüseyn said at the beginning of the battle of Kerbela: "Alī was the gold, Fātima was the silver, I am the son of the gold and the silver. My father was the sun, my mother was the moon. I am the son of the sun and the moon ..."<sup>104</sup>. The sun and the moon in the tableau derive their symbolic meaning from this tradition<sup>105</sup>.

The sun and the moon are also found in the calligraphy representing the perfection in the face of the Bektashi *baba* (plate 12). It contains the invocation 'yā Muḥammad-'Alī' and thus conveys the idea of the presence of the Divine in the *vech-i kamâl*. Here, the letter *yā*' stands for the eyebrows as well as for the cheek bones (since the name of 'Alī can be read upside down and in its mirror image). In this plate, the seven-pointed star does actually represent the sun. Together with the crescent, the unity of Muḥammad and 'Alī, i.e. of God, is symbolized. The spot where these symbols are located, between the eyebrows of the *mürşit*, is held to be the site of the *kible*, as mentioned above.

The association of the sun with the Divine and thus with 'Alī is not unusual among some of the Alevi sects in eastern Anatolia<sup>106</sup>. In mainstream Bektashiism, however, we find a modified version of this belief. This version itself might be considered as a reformulation in Bektashi terms of the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* of the central tradition in Islamic mysticism: 'Alī is the source of the Divine light<sup>107</sup> which manifested itself in Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli. Hence, 'His light' in Qur'ān 24:35 (*maṭḥalun nūrihi ka-miṣḥkāt fihā miṣbāḥ*: 'His light is like a niche in which is a lamp') is understood to mean the light of 'Alī. This idea is expressed in the calligraphy of the name of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, preceded by the honorifics 'Hünkâr Hazreti'<sup>108</sup> in the shape of an oil-lamp (see plate 13).

The background of the calligraphy is green, a color normally seen as symbolizing paradise<sup>109</sup> and usually associated with the Prophet's family. At the same time, however, the color green is sometimes taken to be the color of the Imam Ḥasan exclusively, evoking his death by poison, as red is taken to be the color of the Imam Hüseyn, symbolizing his martyrdom<sup>110</sup>. The colors of the small *teslim taşes* hanging from the beaks of the doves in plate 14 (red for the dove on the left and green on the right) should be understood as a reference to the two Imams Ḥasan and Hüseyn and their intimate connection and perhaps identity with Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli. In this representation the two Imams seem to be revealing themselves through the mouth of Hacı Bektaş, who is represented here in the calligraphy of his name in the shape of a dove (*yā ḥaḍrat-i Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli qaddasa Allāhu sirrahu*: O, [his] Majesty the Saint Hacı Bektaş, may God bless his secret) facing a cypress symbolizing immortality<sup>111</sup>. The calligraphy also refers to the tradition according to which Hacı Bektaş came to Rûm in the appearance of a dove.

His meeting with Karaca Aḥmed Sultân, which was

mentioned above, is depicted here (plate 15) in a purely figurative composition which is customary for this theme<sup>112</sup>. In this plate, the figure standing behind the wall is Güvenç Abdal, Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli's aid and companion, who was to him what Kamber was to 'Alī<sup>113</sup>. Güvenç Abdal has his hands in the so-called position of *dara durmak*, i.e. the position one assumes, among others, when standing in the (middle of) the *meydan*<sup>114</sup>. The masonic implements on the wall behind Hacı Bektaş point towards the incorporation of Akhi elements in Bektashiism<sup>115</sup>.

Color symbolism seems to be very limited in Bektashiism and none of the Bektashi texts known to me contain specific references to colors apart from the color red, which is associated with some of the major events in the history of Alid Islam<sup>116</sup>. Therefore, the color has strong emotional connotations, making it the symbol of Bektashi/Alevi identity<sup>117</sup>. For this reason it is also mentioned as the color symbolizing 'Alī and the *ehl-i beyt*<sup>118</sup>. This is brought out in the calligraphy in the shape of a lion (plate 16). Here, the five-toed paws in the color red symbolize the *beşler*. In the original, red is also the color of the outer rim of the tongue of the lion. This tongue contains the text 'Muḥammad rasûl Allāh' (Muḥammad is the Prophet of God), and thus contains a hidden reference to the Bektashi dogma that Muḥammad was the *nāṭiq*, the spokesman of 'Alī. This belief in the identity of God and 'Alī finds a calligraphic expression in the face of the lion, which is made up of the names Allāh and 'Alī, the name Allāh significantly framed by the name of 'Alī. The whole calligraphy<sup>119</sup> contains an Arabic text, of which a transliteration in modern Turkish is given at the bottom of the plate, with the meaning 'Alī son of Abū Ṭālib, the victorious lion of God, Prince of the Believers, may God bless his face, may God be satisfied with him.' The contradiction between the explicit Sunnī conceptions contained in this formula and the Bektashi/Alevi conception of 'Alī as God are not perceived as such by Bektashis: God can be nothing but satisfied with Himself, being the lion of God and identical with God is thought of as one of 'Alī's mysteries. As the corporal manifestation of God on earth, he is necessarily the Prince of the Believers, and the blessing of 'Alī's face is the blessing on Man's face, since Man's face manifests Allāh as well<sup>120</sup>.

In a slightly different way than is the case in plates 9 and 12, the name of 'Alī follows the contours of the eyebrows and the nose (the letter *yā*' forming the base of the nose and not ending in a *Dhū'l-Fiqār* shaped moustache) in the drawing of the Perfect Man in plate 17. The *lām* on the lower side of the chest is the sign of all possible existence<sup>121</sup>, the letter *bā*' written over the belly stands for the unity of Muḥammad and 'Alī (by dint of its numerical value: 2). It is appropriately crossed by the large *alif* written over the belly which is the symbol of Divine unity<sup>122</sup>, thus constituting a calligraphical representation of the *üçler*.

On a very concrete level, the plate refers to the doctrine of the four elements (air, water, fire, earth) and to the corresponding levels of being (mineral, vegetable, animal, human)<sup>123</sup>, in addition to a full representation of the forms of animal life (in the air, in the water and on land). Between the legs, a female figure representing Eve is visible<sup>124</sup>, and a white cock, which is the symbolic representation of the Archangel Gabriel (see above).

In the figure of the Perfect Man, the names of Muḥammad and Fāṭima are written as one word, from the hands through the arms and to the feet. The names of Ḥasan and Ḥüseyin are written on the left and on the right side of the chest. Apart from the letters *alif*, *dāl* and *mīm* (the sign of Muḥammad and of the Perfect Man)<sup>125</sup>, making up the name Adam, the *lamalif* and the two letters *nūn* stand in the area of the genitals. The first mentioned letter, the *lamalif*, is a symbol of procreation and an allusion to the Qur'ānic verse 6:59 ('He has the keys of the unseen. No one knows them except Him')<sup>126</sup>. The letter *nūn* stands for the stellar constellation of Scorpio (*Akrep*), symbolizing sexual instinct, which is also symbolized by the serpent on the left. The feet stand for the stellar constellation of Pisces (*Hut*), symbolizing primary forms of existence. To the lion a similar meaning is attributed: Leo (*Eset*) standing for predatory instincts located in the heart<sup>127</sup>. By locating the signs of the Zodiac in Man, Bektashi teaching does not cast Man as a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm, but rather presents the cosmos as a projection of Man<sup>128</sup>. In similar reproductions of the Perfect Man, the serpent extends between the legs at the site of the genitals and does not lie in the background as is the case in this picture. The picture, therefore, would seem to be a probably recent bowdlerized version of an ancient motif.

Control of the sexual instincts is part of the *edeb* (discipline) required of the Bektashi/Alevi. The three letters which make up this word, in the Arabic script, follow the contours of the head (*alif*), the shoulder (*dāl*), and the curve of the chin (*bā'*). They are also the first letters of the words *el*, *dil* and *bel*. The term *edeb* therefore summarizes Bektashi/Alevi ethics, as contained in the phrase '*eline, diline, beline sahib olmak*' (to control one's hand, one's tongue and one's loins/sperm (see above, section 2)).

At the same time, however, it is the dot of the last letter, the *bā'*, that contains the most compact representation of what is the most central idea in Bektashi doctrine: that 'Alī is God. This is the dot of the *bā'*, in accordance with 'Alī's saying '*anā nuqṭat al-bā'*', I am the dot of the *bā'*, i.e. the first dot of the revelation<sup>129</sup>, which contains all the secrets of the universe and gives meaning to the universe since it gives meaning to the letters, which allow for an understanding and a penetration of the universe. This dot, however, also symbolizes the belief in 'Alī's reincarnation in Hacı

Bektaş-ı Veli and is a visual echo of the belief in their identity as expressed in a famous *nefes* known by Bektashis the world over. The essential lines of this *nefes* run<sup>130</sup>:

*Aslan olup yol üstünde oturan  
Engûr şerbetini Kırklara ezen  
Kendi cenazesin kendi götüren  
Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş Ali kendidir*

*He who sat upon the road as a lion  
He who squeezed the grape juice for the Forty  
He who conducted his own funeral  
The Sovereign Hacı Bektaş is Ali himself*

#### NOTES

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I wish to express my gratitude to Martha Dukas for her helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

Most technical terms of Arabic or Persian origin have been spelled in accordance with modern Turkish orthography. Names of Arabs have been transliterated in accordance with the system used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. An exception has been made for the name Ḥusayn, for which a modified version of modern Turkish orthography (Ḥüseyin) has been adopted.

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the conquest, see e.g. S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley etc. 1971, chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vryonis, *op. cit.*, 371. For more data on the heterodox groups, see e.g. M.F. Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1935, 114 ff. (Mainly based upon 'Aşıkpaşazâde's *Tavâriḥ-i Âl-i 'Osmân*.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I.M. Erişen & K. Samancıgil, *Hacı Bektaş Veli. Bektaşilik ve Alevilik Tarihi*, n.p. [İstanbul]: Ay Yayınevi 1966, 95 ff. Frequently, the Yezidis, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq and the Nuşayris are also qualified as Kızılbaş.

<sup>4</sup> The term Kızılbaş, which literally means redheads, was used for the first supporters of the Safavids in the era of Şāh Ismā'īl's father, Ḥaydar (d. 1488); cf. A. Gölpınarlı, 'Kızılbaş', *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vi, 789-95. They wore red headgear in commemoration of the blood-soaked headgear of the partisans of 'Alī in the battle of Şifīn. Other explanations exist, however; cf. M. Eröz, *Türkiye'de Alevilik - Bektaşilik*, İstanbul 1977, 88. See also R.M. Savory, 'Kızıl-Bāsh', *EI*<sup>2</sup>, v, 243.

The pejorative sense the term Kızılbaş has in present-day Turkey (but not e.g. among the Alevi Turks in Bulgaria) is of recent date, perhaps as recent as the beginning of the 19th century; cf. I. Mélikoff, 'Le problème Kızılbaş', *Turcica* vi (1975), 49.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the traditions which attribute supra-human or Divine qualities to the Imam 'Alī. On the early *ghulāt* and on the problems concerning the meaning of the term, which is used by disapproving outsiders only, see W. al-Qadi, 'The Development of the Term Ghulat in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya', A. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1976 [Abh. der Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen], 295-319; cf. M.G.S. Hodgson, 'Ghulāt', *EI*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 1093 ff.



Other present-day representatives of *gūlāt* traditions are the *Shabak* and the *Kā'kā'iyya* (in Iraq), the *Ahl-i Haqq* or *Alī-Ilāhīs* (in Iran, Iraq and Turkey), the *Yezīdīs* (in Turkey, Iraq and Syria), and the *Nuşayrīs* (in Turkey and Syria).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B. Noyan, 'Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli ve Sosyal Düzen', *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* xix/11, no. 220 (Kasım 1967), 4570.

<sup>7</sup> See below, note 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Imam-ı Cafer Buyruğu*, İstanbul: Ayyıldız Kitabevi (n.d.) has nothing to do with the text in use among the Alevi sects. The Alevi *Buyruk*, together with a number of variants found in manuscripts in private possession in various parts of Turkey, was published by S. Aytekin under this title (*Buyruk*), Ankara: Emek Basım-Yayınevi 1958. A substantially different version of the *Buyruk* is mentioned by Z.V. Togan, 'Londra ve Tahrandaki islami yazmalardan bazılarına dair', *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, iii/1-2 (1959-1960), 152. This text seems to be the western Turkish version of Tawakkulī's *Şafwat al-Şafā*.

<sup>9</sup> H. Sohrweide, 'Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert', *Der Islam* 41 (1965), 152 and *passim*. See also C.H. Imber, 'The persecution of the Ottoman Shī'ites according to the mühimme defterleri, 1565-1585', *Der Islam* 56 (1979), 245-273.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. R.M. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge etc., 1980, 40. On the problem of the historical relations between Safavi Islam, the *gūlāt* sects and related movements, see M.M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Şafawids. Şī'ism, Şufism, and the Gūlāt*, Wiesbaden 1972 [= Freiburger Islamstudien, Band III].

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Mélikoff, 'Le probleme Kızılbaş', 52.

<sup>12</sup> On this problem, see e.g. Keuprulu Zade Mehmed Fuad Bey [M. Fuad Köprülü], 'Les origines du Bektachisme. Essai sur le développement historique de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Asie Mineure', *Actes du congrès international d'histoire des religions ... 1923*, Paris 1925, x<sup>e</sup> section, 391-411, and the recent article by I. Mélikoff, 'Un ordre de derviches colonisateurs: Les Bektashis. Leur rôle social et leurs rapports avec les premiers sultans ottomans', *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, Paris 1980 [= Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul xxviii], 149-157.

<sup>13</sup> A recent contribution to our knowledge of the history is S. Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien (vom späten fünfzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1826)*, Vienna 1981 [= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Sonderband 2]. See also F. De Jong, 'The *Takīya* of 'Abd Allāh al-Maghāwīrī (Qayghusuz Sultān) in Cairo. A historical sketch and a description of Arabic and Ottoman Turkish materials relative to the history of the Bektashi *takīya* and order preserved at Leiden University Library', *Turcica* xiii (1981), 242-260.

<sup>14</sup> For the basic positions concerning this problem, see J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London 1937, 40 ff. (Hacı Bektaş did found the order); I.H. Uzuncarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, 2 vols., Ankara 1943/44 [= Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından. viii Seri. No. 12], i, 148; and F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 488-493 (Hacı Bektaş did not found the order).

<sup>15</sup> Rif'at Efendi, *Mir'ât ül-meķasit fī daf'î ül-mafāsīd*, İstanbul 1293/1876, 181.

<sup>16</sup> Birge, 34 f. Other dates have come down to us; cf. A. Gölpınarlı, *Vilâyet-Nâme. Manâkıb-ı Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli*, İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi 1958, p. xx (mentions the year 669/1270-71 as the year of Hacı Bektaş's death). See A.C. Ulusoy, *Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Alevî-Bektaşî yolu*, Hacıbektaş 1980, 62 ff., for a discussion of the various opinions concerning the date of Hacı Bektaş's death.

<sup>17</sup> Of these writings known as the *Makalât*, various editions exist in Ottoman Turkish as well as in modern Turkish. A relatively well-executed edition is the one by S. Aytekin, which was published in Ankara: Emek Basım-Yayınevi 1954. It contains an introduction of seventeen pages and a glossary.

<sup>18</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of this and related issues, see I. Mélikoff, 'Recherches sur les composantes du syncrétisme Bektachi-Alevi', *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, Naples 1982 [= Istituto Universitario Orientale. Seminario di Studi Asiatici. Series Minor xix], 379-395.

<sup>19</sup> A. Sirrî (Dede Baba), *Al-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṭarīqa al-Bektāshīyya*, Cairo 1959, 27.

<sup>20</sup> On the nature of these links, see Birge, 46 ff. and 74 ff., and also Uzuncarşılı, i, 150.

<sup>21</sup> The classic contemporary account of the suppression of the Bektashi order and the destruction of the Janissaris is found in Mehmed Es'ad Efendî, *Üss-i Zāfer*, İstanbul 1243.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. e.g. Birge, 77.

<sup>23</sup> S. Faroqhi, 'Bektaschiklöster in Anatolien vor 1826 — Fragestellungen und Quellenprobleme', *Der Islam* liii (1976)/1, 43 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Birge, 78 ff.

<sup>25</sup> M.T. Oytan, *Bektaşiliğin İçyüzü. Dibi, Köşesi, Yüzü ve Astarı Nedir?*, İstanbul 1978, 348 f.

<sup>26</sup> The classic statement of the claims of the leaders of the Çelebi branch for supremacy is Ahmed Cemâleddîn Efendî, *Müdâfa'a*, İstanbul 1326. The authority of the supreme leaders of the Çelebi branch was strengthened considerably in the course of the 18th century; cf. Faroqhi, 'Bektaschiklöster', 41 f. The Çelebi branch itself has a number of sub-branches, of which the most important are the Hüdadatlıler and the Mürselliler; see Erişen/Samancıgil, 114, and Ulusoy, 69 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. E. Gross, *Das Vilâjetnâme des Hāggî Bektasch. Ein türkisches Derwischewangelium*, Leipzig 1927 [= Türkische Bibliothek No. 25], 46 and 115 f.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. I.Z. Eyüboğlu, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektaşilik — Alevilik*, İstanbul: Yeni Çığır Kitabevi 1980, 142. This book is probably the most comprehensive recent work in Turkish on the subject.

<sup>29</sup> Erişen/Samancıgil, 115 f.; Ulusoy, 72 ff.

<sup>30</sup> The institution of this practice is ascribed to Sersem 'Alî Sultān (d. 977/1569-70); see A. Sirrî (Dede Baba), *al-Mudhakkira al-Tafsīriyya li-Şarḥ al-Ṭarīqa al-'Alīyya al-Bektāshīyya*, Cairo 1949, 11.

<sup>31</sup> In 1952, the number of Bektashis in Turkey was put at about 30,000; *Cahiers de l'Orient contemporain* xxvi (1952), 251. But compare Noyan, 4570, who gives an estimate of thirteen million for the total number of Caferis in Turkey. See also A. Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires*, Paris 1980, 14, who estimates their number at ten million.

<sup>32</sup> I. Mélikoff, 'L'Ordre des Bektaşî après 1826', *Turcica* 15 (1983), 170.

<sup>33</sup> The Bektashi order was suppressed in Albania, as

were all denominations in that country; see A. Popovic, 'La communauté musulmane d'Albanie dans la période post-ottomane', *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* xix/2 (1983), 199 f.

Bektashi communities and *tekkes* exist in Bulgaria (Çelebi branch), Greece (Çelebi branch), and Yugoslavia (Mücerred branch). For details, see F. De Jong, 'Islamic Sects in Southeastern Europe' (in preparation). In Egypt, the Bektashi order was much involved with the Court until 1952; cf. F. De Jong, 'Aspects of the Political Involvement of Sufi Orders in 20th-Century Egypt (1907-1970)', in G.R. Warburg and U.M. Kupferschmidt (ed.), *Islam, Nationalism and Radicalism in Egypt and the Sudan*, New York 1983, 193 f. The order ceased to exist on Egyptian soil in 1965. In southeastern Europe, Alevi communities are nowadays found in Bulgaria only.

<sup>34</sup> Xh. Kallajxhi, *Bektashizmi dhe Teqeja Shqiptare n'Amerike*, New York 1964.

<sup>35</sup> For this article, I define the term iconography as: the traditional or conventional images and symbols associated with or referring to (a) religious and/or legendary subject(s).

<sup>36</sup> Apart from the publications mentioned in the following notes, the reader is referred to my forthcoming book 'Islamic Sects in Southeastern Europe' for a more detailed discussion of Alevi and Bektashi belief and ritual practice in general and in the area mentioned in the title of the book in particular.

<sup>37</sup> On this problem, see Mélikoff, 'Recherches sur les composantes', *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> Other terms referring to this occasion are *Kırklar gecesi* (the Night of the Forty) and *Kırklar sofrası* (the Banquet of the Forty).

<sup>39</sup> The edition of the *Buyruk* mentioned in note 8 gives two versions of the events of the *Kırklar meclisi*; cf. p. 7 f., and 155 ff.

<sup>40</sup> The Imam 'Alī was also known as *al-ḥaydar* (the lion) and as *asad Allāh al-ghālib* (the victorious lion of God). Bektashis tend to understand these names as references to 'Alī's metamorphosis into a lion as related in the *mirac* account mentioned here.

<sup>41</sup> A Tahtacı version of the story, recorded by K. Ozbayri, *Tahtacılar ve Yörükler*, Paris 1972 [= Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, xviii], 47, mentions that Muḥammad was admitted after he had produced the grape. In an Alevi *nefes*, mentioned by E. Borel, 'Les poètes Kizil Bach et leur musique', *Revue des études islamiques* 1946, 109, 181, it is Selman-i Pāk and not 'Alī who passes the grape.

<sup>42</sup> Mélikoff, 'Kızılbaş', 64. The liturgical meeting of the Bektashis of the Babagân branch has little in common with the sometimes very elaborate and detailed re-enactments of the events of the *Kırklar meclisi* of some of the Alevi sects. Many of the elements of ritual, however, are justified by the statement that this was the way things were done during the Assembly of the Forty. Further details may be found in my forthcoming study mentioned in note 33.

<sup>43</sup> Alevis and Bektashis do not recognize *sunnī ijmā'* concerning the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. The verses of the Qur'ān on wine drinking and its prohibition are believed to be later additions, inserted by the enemies of the partisans of the *ehl-i beyt*. At the same time, a Qur'ānic justification is found for the consumption of *rakı*, by reading the term *kawthar* in *sūra* 108 as a synonym for this drink, and by understanding the 'pure drink' to be given by God

(Qur'ān 76:21) equally as a reference to *rakı* (there is no drink more pure than strong *rakı*, as the argument runs).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Mélikoff, 'Kızılbaş', 62 ff.; *idem*, 'Recherches', 384; and J.-P. Roux, *Les traditions des nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, Paris 1970 [= Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, xxiv], 257 (for this practice among the Tahtacı).

<sup>45</sup> This part of the Bektashi/Alevi tradition has come down to us in *nefes* only; see e.g. S.N. Ergun, *Bektaşî Şairleri ve Nefesleri*, 3 vols., İstanbul 1955, iii, 35.

<sup>46</sup> See Eyüboğlu, 237 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Eröz, 34.

<sup>48</sup> For an explanation of these stages, see e.g. Birge, 102 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.* 96 ff. on the doctrine of the *mürşit*.

<sup>50</sup> In R. Bell, *The Qur'ān. Translated with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs*, Edinburgh 1960<sup>2</sup>, 540, the translation of this verse reads: 'Till he was two bow-lengths off or nearer'. *Qāb* is normally translated as 'small distance' or 'short span'. The expression '*alā qāb qawsayn*' has the meaning of 'quite near' or 'very close'. *Qawsayn* is the dual form of *qaws*, i.e. bow, arch. According to the Bektashi interpretation of the verse, the two bows are the eyebrows and the 'small distance' refers to the space in between.

<sup>51</sup> This part of Bektashi teaching is normally looked upon as the Hurufi segment in Bektashiism; cf. Birge, 148 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Birge, 150 and Eyüboğlu, 213 ff. for additional information on the strikingly humanistic anthropology of Bektashiism.

<sup>53</sup> Birge, 288 ff., Erişen/Samancıgil, 137 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Teberrâ* (litt.: a standing aloof, a withdrawing) has also the connotation of 'considering with deep disgust', in addition to 'continuously cursing'.

<sup>55</sup> Normally, the curse is pronounced in Arabic: '*la'nat Allāh 'alā muqātili(n) al-Imām al-Ḥusayn*', or '*la'nat 'alayhi(m)*', especially when the occasion is a ritual context. In addition, curses in Turkish are pronounced, e.g. *lanet Yezide* or variants thereof.

<sup>56</sup> The length of the fasting period differs between the various Bektashi communities. A detailed description of the Muharrem fasting and the following Aşura celebrations in a Bektashi community in southeastern Europe may be found in my 'Islamic Sects in Southeastern Europe' (see note 33 above). The other holidays celebrated by Bektashis are: Nevruz (21/22 March: celebrated as 'Alī's birthday, i.e. the coming of God into the world), Hidrellez (6/7 May), and Kurban Bayram (10 Dhu'l-Hijja); cf. Oytan, 410 f.

<sup>57</sup> The term *tevellâ* (litt.: taking a friend) has the connotation, or perhaps the meaning, of 'paying homage' and 'cultivating or cherishing love' (for the *ehl-i beyt*).

<sup>58</sup> For a list of their names, see Oytan, 305 f.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, 306 ff. for their names.

<sup>60</sup> See L. Massignon, 'Selman Pak et les premices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien', Y. Moubarac (ed.), *Opera Minora*, 3 vols., Bayrut 1963, i, 453 ff.

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. S.N. Ergun, *Bektaşî Şairleri*, İstanbul 1930, 57. In the *Vilâyet-Nâme* (Gross, 149 ff.), Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli performs his own burial rites, veiled, and unknown and invisible to those present. After the funeral, one of his disciples goes with the stranger for some distance and asks him to lift his veil and to show his identity: it is Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli himself. Here, the duplication of the events following the passing away of 'Alī points towards the belief

that Hacı Bektaş was a manifestation of 'Alī in a different guise. It is also an expression of the belief *tanasukh*, i.e. metempsychosis; cf. Birge, 129 ff.

<sup>62</sup> For an analysis of this theme, see P.N. Boratav, 'Vestiges oğuz dans la tradition bektāšī', *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses* (München 1957), Wiesbaden 1959, 382-385; Ş. Yola, 'Zur Ornithophanie im Vilâyet Nâme des Hâğgî Bektaş', in H.G. Majer (red.), *Islamkundliche Abhandlungen* [= H.J. Kissling Festschrift], München 1974, 125-129.

<sup>63</sup> Gölpınarlı, *Vilâyet-Nâme*, 18, 20, 91. In another version of the event (cf. Gross, 36, 80f.), the dervish is named Sayyid Mahmud Hairan.

<sup>64</sup> See Birge, 102 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Erişen/Samancıgil, 57.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. B. Noyan, 'Bektāšî ve Alevî'lerde hukuk düzeni (düşünlük)', *I. Uluslararası Türk Folklor Kongresi Bildirileri*, iv Cilt. *Gelenek-Görenek ve İnançlar*, Ankara 1976, 189 ff.

<sup>67</sup> The term dervish is normally used by Bektashis to refer to a rank and not to a wandering (mendicant) mystic. The degrees in Bektashiism are in ascending order: *talip* (candidate for initiation), *muhip* (initiated member), *dervish* (performing a task during the ritual), *baba* (can initiate and give guidance), *dede* (elects the *Dede Baba*), and *Dede Baba* (the supreme head of the Mücerred branch). Only the Mücerred branch has a monastic tradition; cf. Birge, 162 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Bektashis use the term *meydan* to denote the place where the liturgical meeting is held. Such a meeting is customarily referred to as *muhabbet*. Among the Alevi sects, however, the use of the term *cem* is more frequent, while the room or the building where the *cem* is held is known as *cem evi*.

<sup>69</sup> The lower part inside of the twelve-segmented and the seven-segmented *taces* is usually divided into four sections, symbolizing the Four Gateways. Often, a piece of green cloth is bound around it.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. J.P. Brown, *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, London 1968<sup>2</sup>, 180 f. The *teslim taşı* is either made from a kind of alabaster quarried near Hacıbektaş (köy), or from the transparant *necefi taş*, a crystal which supposedly comes from al-Najaf, the town where the shrine of the Imam 'Alī is located.

<sup>71</sup> *Palihenks* with seven corners are also known; *op. cit.*, 176.

<sup>72</sup> Some particularly beautiful examples are preserved in the Hacıbektaş Müzesi; see A. Taşdelen, 'Hacıbektaş Veli Dergâhi ve Müzesi', *Türkiyemiz*, 28 (Haziran 1979), 20. The *dergâh* was opened as a museum in 1964. On its holdings, see A. Taşdelen & A. Sümer, *Hacıbektaş Müzesi Rehberi*, Ankara 1976.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Oytan, 261 (the text of prayer no. 9).

<sup>74</sup> The piercing of the ear used to take place either on the threshold of the shrine of Balım Sultân in the *tekke* of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli near Kırşehir or in the *tekke* in Kerbela. The operation was also performed in the *tekke* of 'Alī Sultân (Kızıl Deli Sultan) near Dimetoka. It was part of the ordination ceremony (*mücerred iqrârî*) of the celibate *babas*. The last *baba* who went through this ceremony in the central *tekke* in Hacıbektaş was Baba Kazım (d. 1981) of Diakova (Yugoslavia).

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Birge, 70, where it is said that it was worn 'in memory of Döldül'. The horseshoe earring, although no

longer worn, is seen as a symbol of servitude in present-day Bektashiism.

<sup>76</sup> This number refers to the forty-one who participated in the *Kırklar meclisi*. The use of a *tesbih* of 99 beads, consisting of three groups of thirty-three, separated by two beads in the shape of a *Hüseyini tac*, and one large bead at the end, is also known; cf. Birge, 254.

<sup>77</sup> The Bektashi order was not a mendicant order, and begging was very restricted and bound to strict rules; cf. Brown, 185, and Birge, 236.

<sup>78</sup> Birge, 235.

<sup>79</sup> Each *muhip* has a *rehber* or guide who directs him and supervises him and, in a sense, prepares him for guidance by the *mürşit* or spiritual guide. In the initiation ceremony, the candidate is conducted into the *meydan* by the *rehber*, sometimes carrying a *teber*.

<sup>80</sup> On this ceremony, see H. Ringgren, 'The initiation ceremony of the Bektashis', C.J. Bleeker (ed.), *Studies in the History of Religions*, vol. x. *Initiation*, Leiden 1965, 202-208.

<sup>81</sup> I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le porte-hache du Khorasan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962, 68.

<sup>82</sup> For an example, see Birge, illustration no. 6. Cf. Birge, 233, for the commentary on this plate; he has not noted that the word *haqq* (Truth) constitutes an integral calligraphic element of each of the *tebers*.

<sup>83</sup> A *niyaz* is a prostration, somewhat similar to the *sujūd* position in the *sunnî şalât* ritual. The floor, however, is touched with the hands only. These are held in a distinctly prescribed position, in such a way that a pattern of three kisses can be completed on, or in the air slightly above, the fingertips.

<sup>84</sup> Reverence for the threshold is also found among the Tahtacıs and all other Alevıs; cf. Roux, *Traditions*, 121 ff.

<sup>85</sup> See Oytan, 201 f.

<sup>86</sup> This is not the case, however, in Bulgaria, where the *tekkes* have virtually been dismantled and liturgical meetings are held semi-clandestinely. A similar situation prevails in Turkey.

<sup>87</sup> The engraving reads: *Allāhumma şallī 'alā al-Muştafā Muḥammad wa'l-Murtaḍā 'Alī wa'l-Niswān Fāṭima wa'l-Sibtayn al-Ḥasan wa'l-Ḥusayn wa-şallī 'alā Zayn al-'Ābidīn wa-'alā al-Bāqir Muḥammad wa'l-Şādiq Ja'far, al-Kāzım Mūsā wa'l-Riḍā 'Alī wa'l-Taḳī Muḥammad wa'l-Baqī 'Alī wa'l-Zakī al-'Askarī al-Ḥasan wa-şallī 'alā Imām Muḥammad-i Mahdī*.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. in the Bektashi *türbe* of 'Alī Baba near Svidovica, east of Strumica (Yugoslavia).

<sup>89</sup> Examples are the *türbes* of Demir Baba near Razgrad in Bulgaria, and of Sersem 'Alī Baba in Tetovo (Yugoslavia). See F. Babinger, 'Das Bektaschi-Kloster Demir Baba', *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* xxxiv (1931), 1-10; and G. Palikruševa & K. Tomovski, 'Les tekkés en Macédoine aux xviii<sup>e</sup> et xix<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca* (Venezia 1963), Naples 1965, 203-211, for a general description of the architecture of these establishments.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. the *türbes* of Kıdemli Baba near Nova Zagora, of Akyazılı Sultan near Balçık and of Ali Baba in Kravevo (near Malāk Izvor, south of Harmanli), all in Bulgaria. On the *türbe* of Kıdemli Baba, see M. Kiel, 'A Monument of early Ottoman Architecture in Bulgaria. The Bektāšī Tekke of Kıdemli Baba Sultan at Kalugerevo-Nova Zagora', *Belle-ten* xxxv/137 (1973), 45-60. On the *tekke* of Akyazılı Sultan,

see *Teketo Akyazâlâ Baba. Pâteboditel*, Tolbuhin: Okrâzhen istoricheski Muzei, n.d., and S. Eyice, 'Varna ile Balçık arasinda Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi', *Belleten* xxiv/124 (1967), 551-600. The *türbe* of 'Alî Baba near Harmanlı has not yet been the object of scholarly study.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. in the *tekkes* in Kanatlar and in Kičevo in Yugoslavia.

<sup>92</sup> Tombstones with the so-called *Ethemî tac* (four segments) and the *elifî tac* (shaped like a Bishop's mitre) are also found. On these different types, see Birge, 37, 46 f., 217, 248, 250, 261, 284. The tombstones of female Bektashis have no *tac* but a decoration of sculptured leaves and flowers on the upper part instead.

<sup>93</sup> Also the greater part of Bektashi writings has been produced by *babas* of the Mücerred branch. This seems to suggest that the monasticism characteristic of this branch of Bektashiism must have been decisive for this intellectual production.

<sup>94</sup> Meetings for the ceremony of *baş okutmak* (cf. Birge, 170 ff.) and part of the liturgical celebrations on the occasions of Aşura, Nevruz, and Hidrellez are sometimes held more privately, e.g. in the house of the *baba*, or more publicly, depending upon local circumstances and tradition.

<sup>95</sup> Small, but important collections are preserved in the İstanbul Belediye Müzesi, in the Dîvan Edebiyâtı Müzesi, in the Ethnographical Museum in Ankara, and in the Hacıbektaş Müzesi (cf. note 72, above).

<sup>96</sup> In Birge's book, mentioned throughout these footnotes, and in M. Aksel, *Türklerde Dinî Resimler. Yazı-Resim*, İstanbul 1967 [= Elif Yayınları, No. 21].

<sup>97</sup> For a theoretical elaboration of these ideas, see C. Geertz, 'Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols', in C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York 1973, 126-141.

<sup>98</sup> On the *tekkes* in Yugoslavia, see Nimetallah Hafiz, *Yugoslavya da Bektaşî Tekkeleri*, *Cevren* iv no. 11 (Pristinë, Sept. 1976), 57-67.

In Greece, outside Western Thrace, Bektashiism has come to an end in 1974 with the death of Baba Seit, the last head of the *tekke* of Durbali Sultan near Farsala in Thessalia. The Greek authorities refused to admit a successor. Since the death of Baba Seit, the *tekke* has rapidly fallen into a state of dilapidation. Most liturgical objects have been stolen from its premises and the framed images and calligraphies hanging in the *türbes* are being destroyed by moisture and insects. On the *tekke*, see e.g. G. Thoma, "*Tekê*" *Doûrbali Soultân. Tô 'Arvanitikô Monastiri Fârsalon. 'Ena Istorikô Ktisma tis Thessalias*, Volos 1966.

<sup>99</sup> On these Hurufî elements, see note 51.

<sup>100</sup> F.W. Schwartzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt*, Leipzig 1886, 152; cf. I Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien*, ii, 359, 365, (Halle 1890) for further data and references.

<sup>101</sup> Birge, 188.

<sup>102</sup> E.g. on the shrine of Demir Baba near Razgrad in Bulgaria.

<sup>103</sup> See e.g. illustration No. 14 in Birge.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. I. Lassy, *The Muharram mysteries among the Azerbaijan Turks of Caucasus*, Helsinki 1916, 41 (*apud* Muḥammad Tâjî, *Qūmrî*, Tabriz 1330/1912).

<sup>105</sup> As is the case among the Nusayris (see L. Massignon, 'Nuṣairî', *ET*<sup>1</sup>, iii, 1043), the sun is sometimes associated with Muḥammad and the moon with 'Alî; cf. Oytan, 299.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Mélikoff, 'Recherches', 385.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Birge, 185, for the prayer said at the lighting of the candles ('The light of Muhammad is born from Ali').

<sup>108</sup> See Birge, 36, for the story which explains how the honorific *Hünkâr* (Persian: *Khunkâr*, meaning sovereign, lord) came to be attached to the name of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli.

<sup>109</sup> R. Paret, *Symbolik des Islam*, Stuttgart 1958 [= *Symbolik der Religionen* II], 46.

<sup>110</sup> Lassy, 86.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Hasluck, 226. The birds themselves can probably also be understood as symbols of the immortality of the soul; cf. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim*, 63.

<sup>112</sup> In the picture, Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli and Güvenç Abdal wear the *elifî tac*, which is the earliest form of the Bektashi *tac*; see note 92.

<sup>113</sup> Ulusoy, 50 ff.

<sup>114</sup> In this position, the right toe is placed upon the left toe.

<sup>115</sup> See G.G. Arnakis, 'Futuwwa traditions in the Ottoman Empire. Ahiş, Bektashi dervishes and craftsmen', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* xii (1953), 232-247; cf. Mélikoff, Kızılbaş, 53 f., *idem*, *Abu Muslim*, 65, 79, and F. Taeschner, 'Akhî', in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, i, 323.

<sup>116</sup> Alid Islam: all groups who trace themselves back to the early partisans of 'Alî.

<sup>117</sup> With certain Alevi sects, women wear a red shawl covering their hair during the liturgical gatherings. In some Bektashi lodges, male members sometimes wear red woolen knitted skullcaps. This, however, is not an established rule for religious attire. I have also met *babas* who had a red, instead of the regular green, piece of cloth around their *tac*, but this is an exception rather than the rule.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Paret, 46.

<sup>119</sup> The composition was made by Turgut Reşadi Baba (İstanbul), who is the only remaining Bektashi *baba* producing Bektashi art (object and images) in the classical tradition.

<sup>120</sup> Based upon the oral explanation given by Turgut Reşadi Baba.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Birge, 244.

<sup>122</sup> *Op. cit.*, 74 (*apud* Virânî).

<sup>123</sup> *Op. cit.*, 117 ff.

<sup>124</sup> The numerical value of the Arabic letters of the name Adam (*alif*, *dāl* and *mīm*) is forty-five. The letters of the name of Eve, when written Hāwāh (*hā*', *alif*, *wāw*, *alif*, *hā*'), have a numerical value of twenty-one. Their total is sixty-six, which equals the numerical value of *rabb* (*rā*' and *bā*'), i.e. Lord (= God). This computation is used in the Çelebi branch and in various Alevi sects to demonstrate the necessity of marriage in order to attain perfection.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. L. Massignon, 'L'Homme parfait en Islam', *Erano Jahrbuch* xv (1947), 300.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Birge, 240.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> For an enumeration of the location of the signs of the Zodiac in Man, see G. Jacob, *Die Bektaschijje in ihrem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen*, Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxiv. Band, Abh. iii, München 1909, 47 (based upon Virânî's *Risāle*; cf. Birge, 282).

In this respect, Bektashi teaching differs substantially from the teachings of Ibn 'Arabî and his school.



Plate 1. A Bektashi *baba* in full regalia: *Shā'bān* Baba from Prishtë (Albania). He came to Cairo in 1913 as a refugee from the Greek terror in southern Albania. He died in Cairo on 16 Muḥarram 1333/24 November 1914; Aḥmad Sirrī (Baba), *ar-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya ī Ta'rīkh al-Ṭarīqa al-'Aliyya al-Bektāshiyya bi-Miṣr al-Maḥrūsa*, Cairo 1939, 53 f.

To the right of the *palihen* the egg-shaped crystal stone of the *kamberiye* is visible. A backscratcher, a spoon, and other implements (probably a letter opener and a small knife) are visible in the belt. The *haydariye* is partly visible beneath the mantle (*aba*). Strings of *habbes* made of *necefi taş* decorate the sleeves of the *haydariye*.

The photograph was taken in Cairo in 1913 or 1914. The original of this photograph, which is in the possession of the author, was part of the legacy of Aḥmad Sirrī Dede Baba of the *tekke* of Qayghusuz Sulṭān in Cairo; see the article mentioned in note 13 for details.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. K. Samancıgil, *Alevî Şairleri Antolojisi*, İstanbul 1946, 242; Jacob, *op. cit.*, 39 (*apud* Virānī). A variant exists which compares 'Alī with the dot of the *nūn*; see Ergun, i, 217.

<sup>130</sup> Ergun, 19; cf. Samancıgil, *op. cit.*, 18, for a *nefes* containing a slightly different formulation of the same idea.





Plate 2. A *kavukluk*. The dimensions are  $21 \times 27 \times 62$  cm. Note the glass bead, against the evil eye, attached to the upper left corner. Private collection in Istanbul.

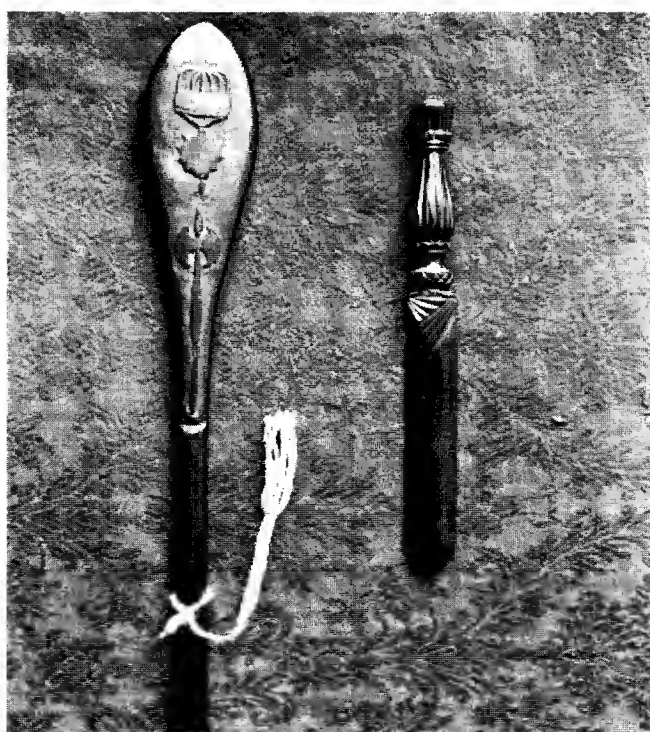


Plate 3. A letter opener and a backscratcher both made of wood. The reverse side of the backscratcher has a ribbed surface and is not decorated. The lengths are 15 cm and 41 cm respectively. Private collection in Istanbul.

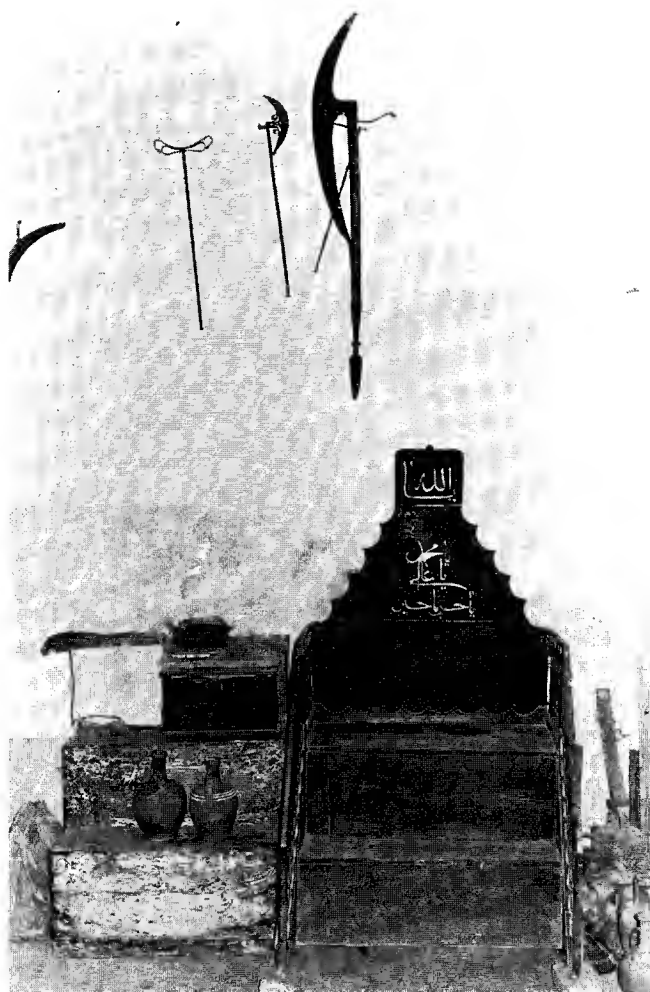


Plate 4. A *taht-ı Muhammad*. The invocations in the upper part are cut through the wood. (*Yā Allāh, Yā Muḥammad, Yā ʿAlī, Yā Ḥasan, Yā Ḥüseyn*). The lower inside of each railing is carved into twelve-pointed segments referring to the Twelve Imams. The similar decoration running along the edge of the upper step has seven points referring to the *yediler*. The upper part gives the suggestion of a *teslim taşı* crowned by a *Ḥüseyni tac*. On the left, a very basic *taht* is used for storage. On the wall hang a *nefir* and two *tebers*. The instrument, which is visible behind one of the *tebers* and the slightly differently shaped instrument hanging to the left of the small *teber* are *müttekâs*, also known as *muîns*. These are chin supports, made of metal or wood, which were placed under the chin during periods of sleepless retreat. The photograph was taken in the now defunct *tekke* of Hasib Baba in Xanthi (Greece) in August 1982. See on this *tekke* A. Dede, *Rumeli'nde Birakılanlar* (Batı Trakya Türkleri), İstanbul 1975, 139 ff. The dimensions of the large *taht* at its base are 60 × 70 cm. It is 120 cm high.

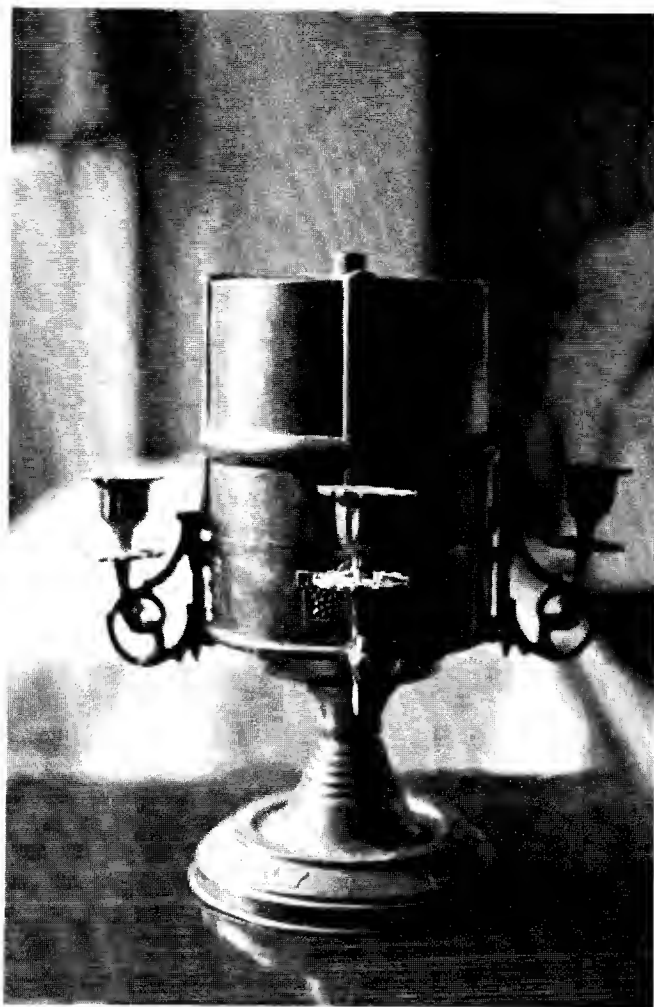


Plate 5. A *birlik cırağı* in the shape of an *Ethemî tac* (see note 92) made of copper. It is 35 cm high. Private collection in Istanbul.



Plate 6. A *hawd* of galvanized copper. The inscription around the edge is given in note 87. Abstract patterns and animal figures, mainly deer, cover the outside. It is 10 cm deep and has a diameter of 22 cm. Private collection of the author.

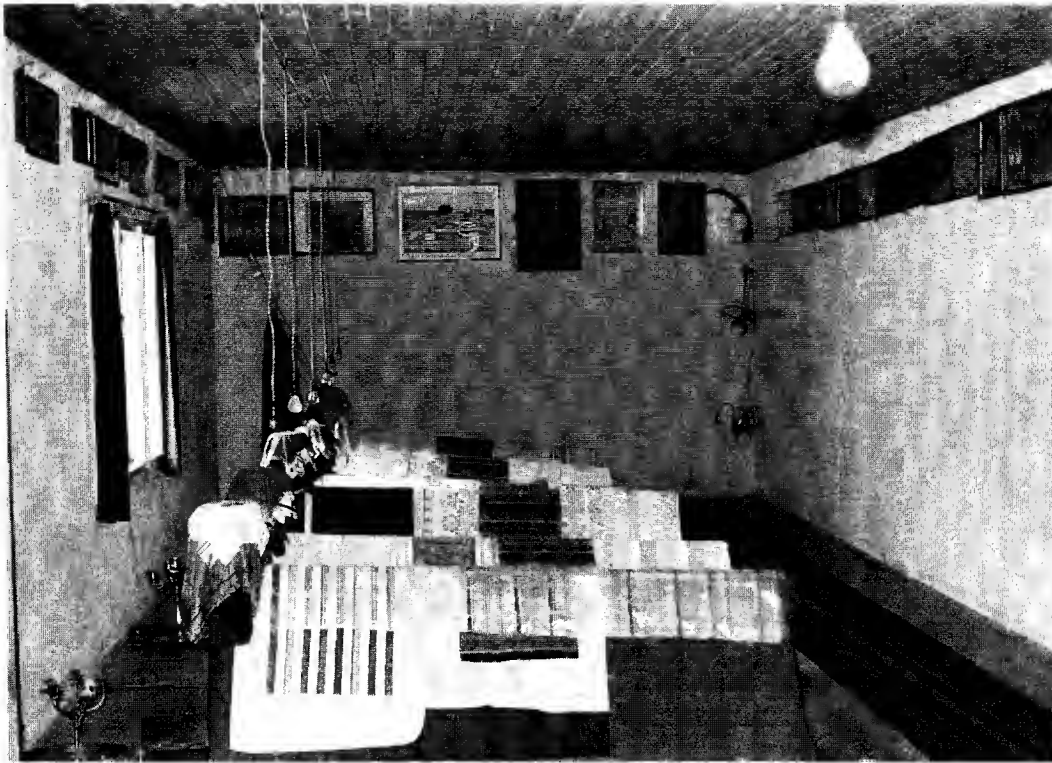


Plate 7. The hall with the graves of the deceased heads of the Bektashi *tekke* in Diakova (Yugoslavia), showing a row of plates decorating the walls. Note the *nefir* hanging in the corner. The photograph was taken in September 1978.

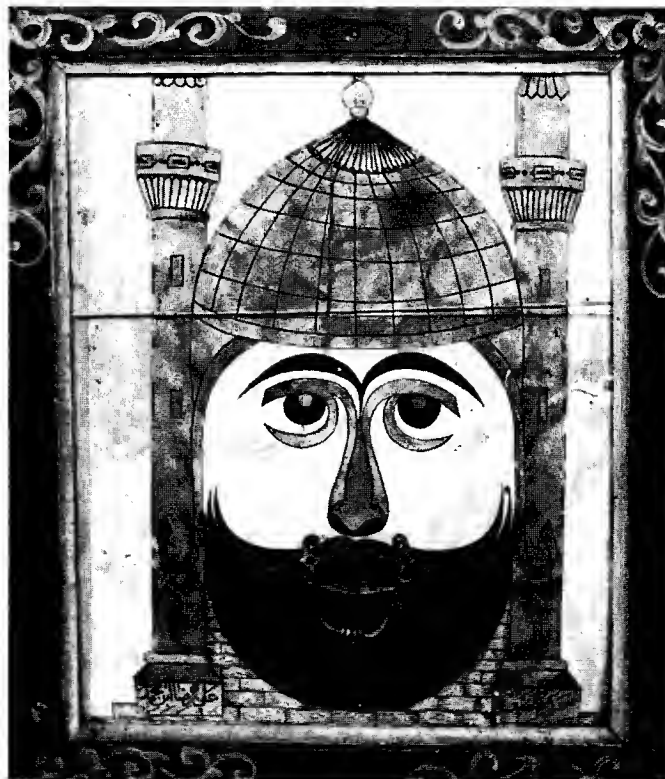


Plate 9. Plate expressing the belief that each human being is a mosque. Paint on paper. The dominating colors are black (beard, eyebrows and eyes), yellowish-brown (dome, minarets and pupils), red (base of minarets, top of dome, lips, and the invocation *Yā 'Alī*). The Arabic text in black on the base of the minarets reads: *ḥarrarahu al-faqīr 'Alī Riḍā ibn Meḥmed* (drawn by the poor one, 'Alī Riḍā son of Meḥmed). The image is covered by a broken glass plate which could not be removed. Photographed in the Bektashi *tekke* in Diakova (Yugoslavia). The dimensions are 35 × 40 cm.

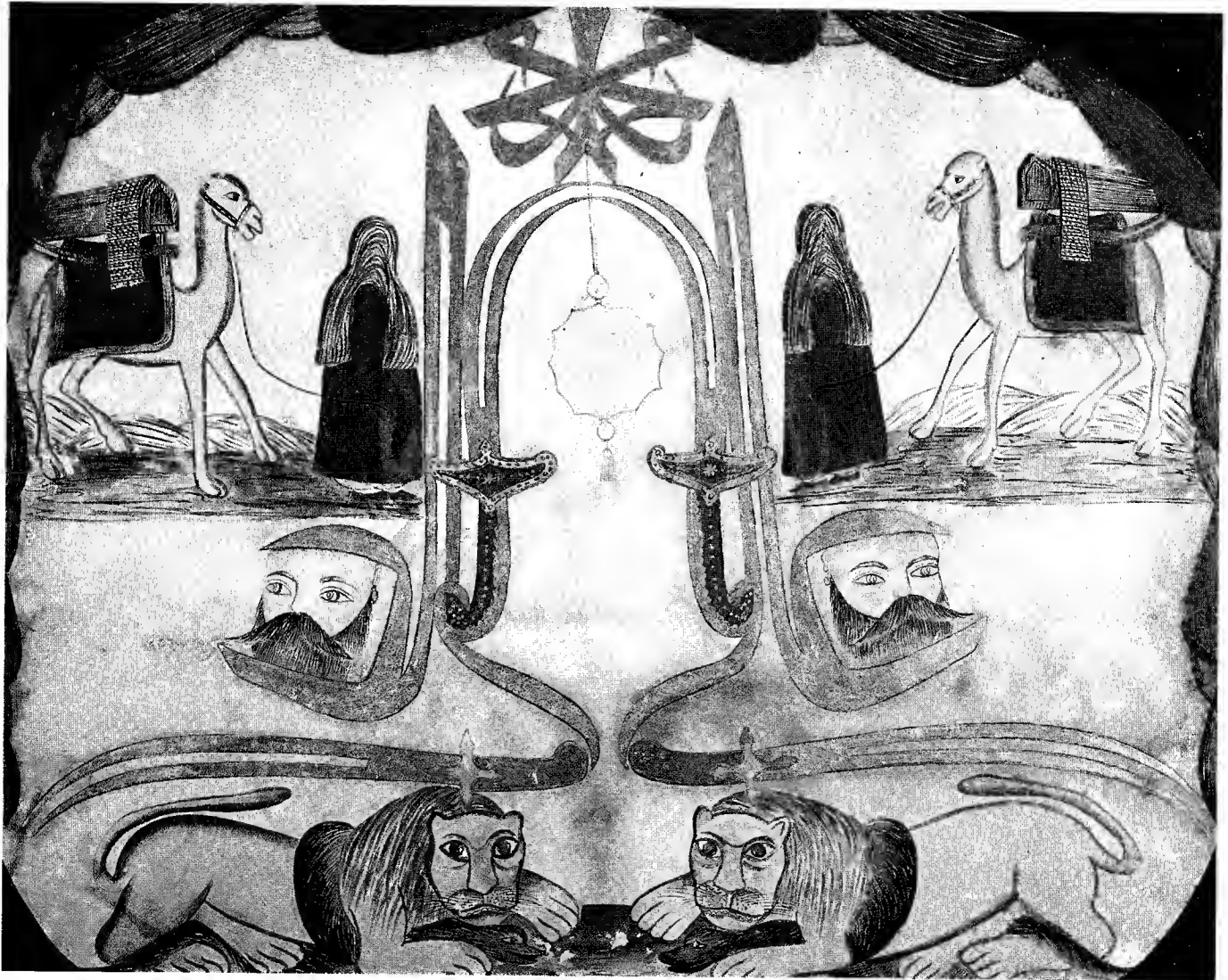


Plate 8. Calligraphy containing a statement of the central creed of Bektashiism. Paint and pencil on paper. The *teslim taşı* in the center is crudely drawn with a red coloring-pencil. Pencil is not used for any of the other elements in this plate. In view of this, the *teslim taşı* may be a later addition. In this case, the plate without the addition may have decorated an Alevi *cem evi* before ending up in the Bektashi *tekke* of Durbali Sultan in Thessalia (Greece). It was purchased by the author in Farsala (Greece). The dimensions are 38 × 46 cm.



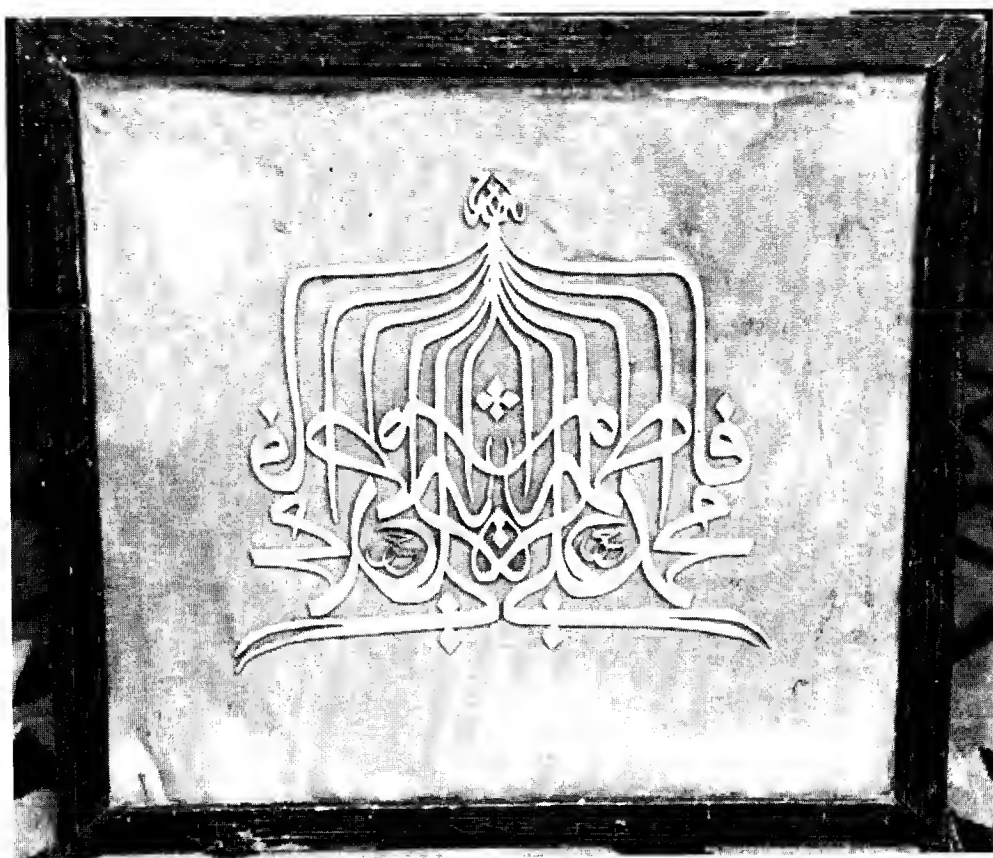


Plate 10. Fretwork in the shape of a *Hüseyini tac*. Wood on a cloth-covered wooden base. Diakova (Yugoslavia). The dimensions are 45 × 50 cm.



Plate 12. Calligraphy representing the idea of the presence of the Divine in the face of the Bektashi Baba. Paint on paper. The *teslim taşı* is dark yellow. The *Hüseyini tac* is white (upper part) and dark green (lower part). The flowers in the corners are in red and green. All calligraphical elements are in black. Diakova (Yugoslavia). The dimensions are 37 × 49 cm.

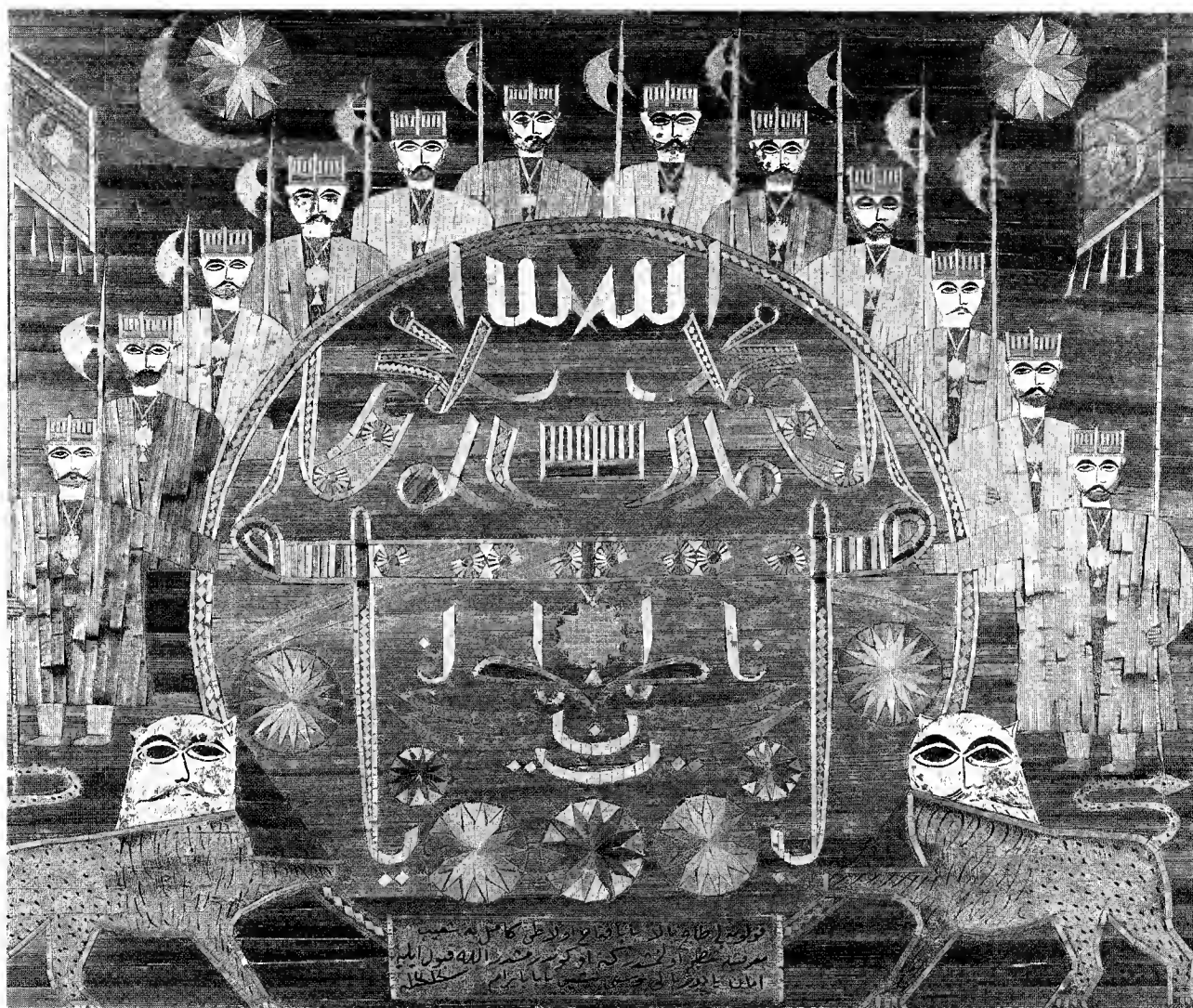


Plate 11. Tableau with the Twelve Imams dressed as Bektashi Babas. Strips of straw glued to a wooden base. The faces of the Imams and the heads of the lions are done in black ink on bits of white paper. The tableau was probably made in Kolonje (Albania) in 1312/1894-5. This is suggested by the Ottoman Turkish text at the bottom. The text also mentions that the tableau was presented to Baba Bayrām, the *postnişin* (head, abbot) of the *dergâh* of Durbali Sultan. The tableau was purchased by the author in Greece and is presently part of his private collection of Bektashi art. The dimensions are 35 × 44 cm.



Plate 13. Calligraphy of the name of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli in the shape of an oil-lamp. Paint and pencil on paper. Diakova (Yugoslavia). The dimensions are 21 × 28 cm.

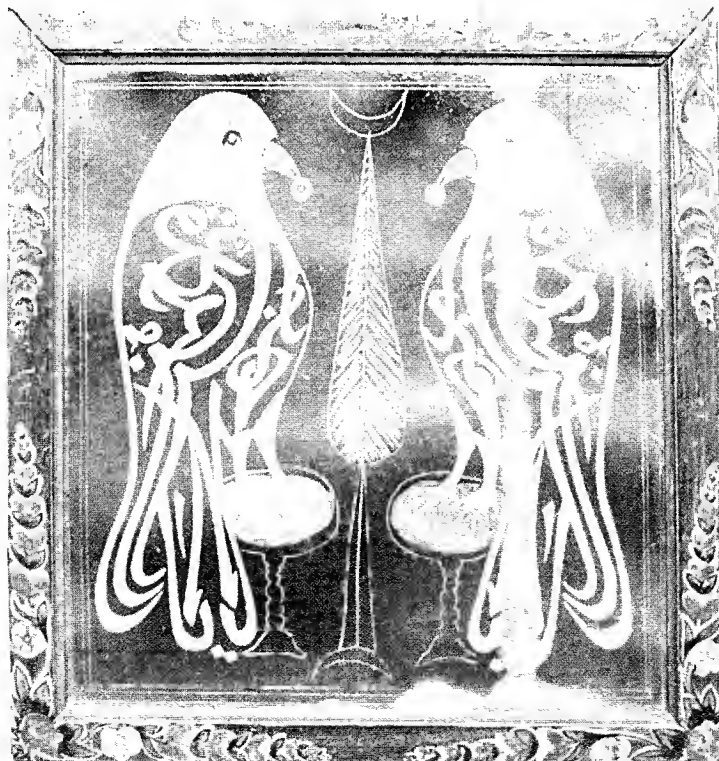


Plate 14. Calligraphy of the name of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli in the shape of two doves. Paint on glass. Diakova (Yugoslavia). The dimensions are 40 × 40 cm.

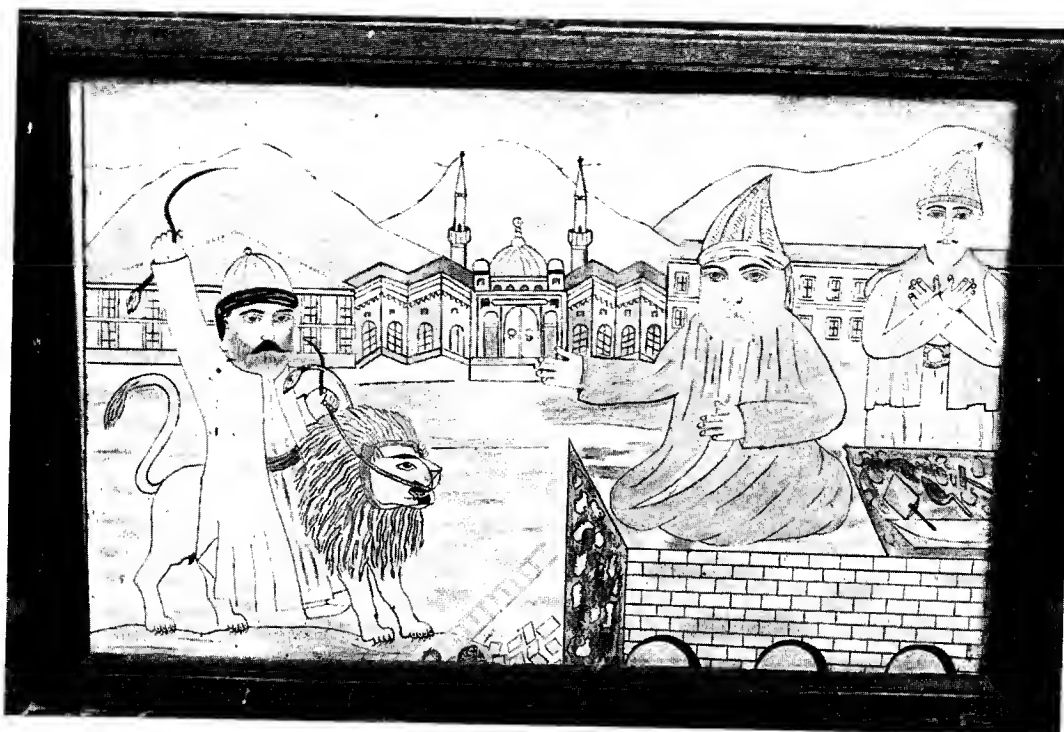


Plate 15. Plate depicting the meeting of Hacı Bektaş and Karaca Aḥmed Sultān. Ink, pencil and watercolors. Green (the grass and the mountains), red (the roofs of the houses) and yellow (the lion) dominate. Diakova (Yugoslavia). The dimensions are 31 × 50 cm.



Plate 16. Calligraphy expressing the belief in the identity of God and 'Alī. This calligraphy was made for the author by Turgut Reşadi Baba (see note 119). Red (paws and tongue) and black on a yellowish paper base. The dimensions are 16 × 22 cm.

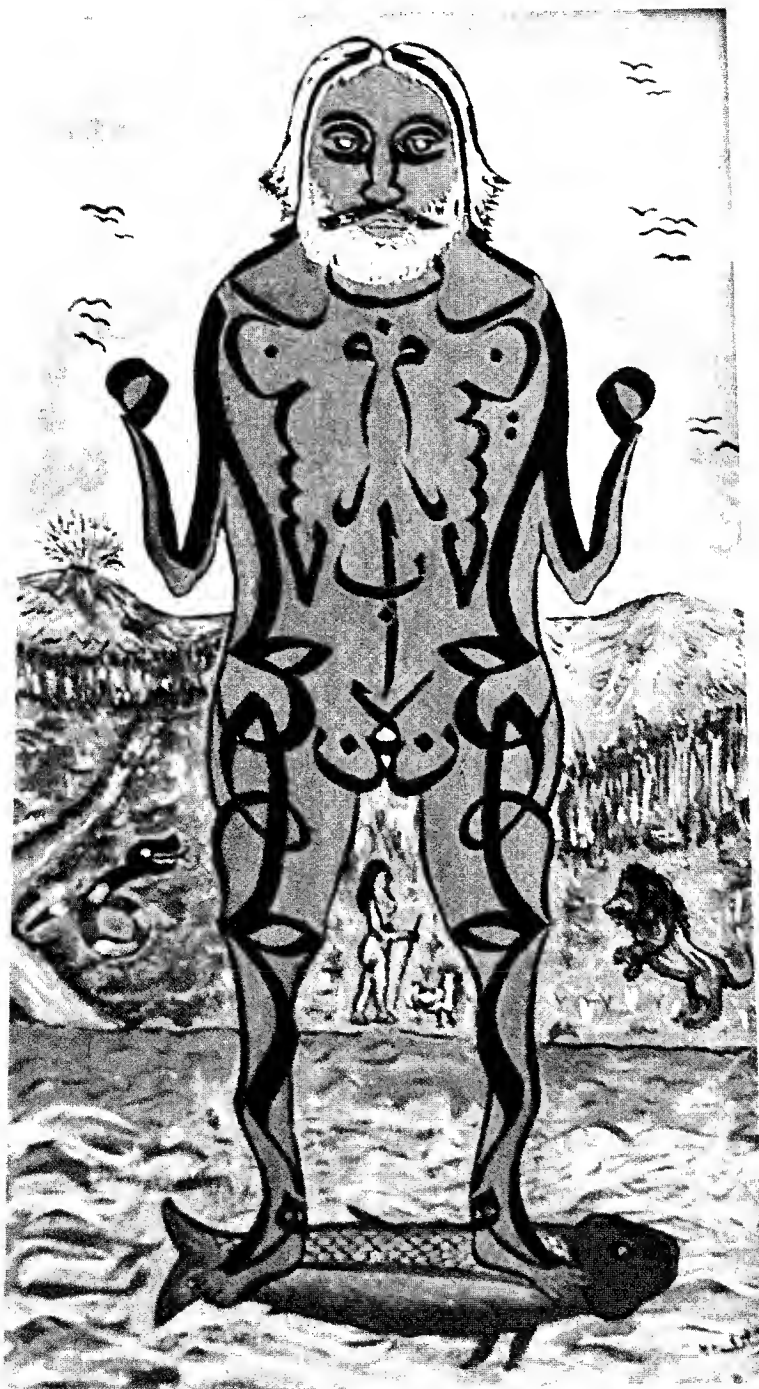


Plate 17. The Perfect Man. Paint on paper. Photographed in a private collection in Istanbul. The dimensions are 21 x 40 cm.